

Genève 1978

**ENVIRONMENTAL COOPERATION
AMONG
INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES:**

The Role of Regional Organizations

Nancy K. Hetzel

**University Press
of America™**



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La Commission mixte, composée des doyens des Facultés de droit, des lettres, et des sciences économiques et sociales, et du directeur de l'Institut universitaire de hautes études internationales, sur le préavis de MM. Georges ABI-SAAB, Jean SIOTIS et Michel VIRALLY, professeurs à l'Institut, autorise l'impression de la présente thèse sans entendre par là exprimer d'opinion sur les propositions que y sont énoncées.

Genève, le 15 juillet 1978

Pour la Commission mixte:

Jacques FREYMOND

Directeur de l'Institut universitaire

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The idea for this book originated in the summer of 1970 while I was working at the President's Council for Environmental Quality and gradually evolved while I was preparing my doctorate at the Graduate Institute of International Studies in Geneva, Switzerland. Since 1970 I have had over two hundred interviews with civil servants from intergovernmental organizations and national delegates to their meetings. I am indebted to them for the time they spent explaining the functioning of the organizations and for the many good ideas and insights they selflessly shared with me. They will undoubtedly recognize them in the following pages. I, of course, take the responsibility for the interpretations and conclusions drawn from these ideas.

I am particularly grateful to the United Nations Environment Programme who supported the study for one and a half years and to the Centre for Research on International Institutions (Geneva) under whose direction the project was carried out. I thank Dr. Mustafa Tolba, Dr. Robert Frosch and Maurice Strong for making this possible. I owe special gratitude to Professor Jean Siotis, without whose generous help and timely advice this book would have never appeared. I would also like to convey my thanks to Professors Georges Abi-Saab and Michel Virally. Finally I would like to express my appreciation to my family and friend Dr. Assad Omer for their support and encouragement.

PREFACE

Historians will probably look back at the twentieth century in amazement, asking the question: why did it take so much time before some consciousness about the detrimental impact industrialism, whether capitalist or socialist, had on nature, developed, and before some mobilization and organization for concrete action emerged? Their answers will probably have to come in two categories: (1) nature is surprisingly strong; ecosystems built through millions of years or more show resilience, they are "mature", meaning rich and diverse, and filled with homeostatic mechanisms of various kinds which do not easily break down. And, (2) man, particularly Western man, is surprisingly weak in detecting the early warning signals from nature because of the distance between Western industrial man and nature, and because of the ambiguity of Western science: producing knowledge for manipulation control (and highly efficient at that), but not for deeper understanding of man-in-nature, man-in-the-universe.

With the shock effects of the discoveries of the late 60's and early 70's, of a nature polluted and increasingly depleted, of eco-balances seriously disturbed through the reduction of nature's diversity (industrial farming and industrial fishing being major factors here) and the destruction of balancing mechanism, how, then, does the system react? What is the response to the shock?

Off hand one might do well being sceptical. Is the system producing the imbalances really capable of some self-repair? If nature herself were present in the negotiating fora, perhaps a whale or two at the meetings of the International Whaling Commission might have made a difference. The alternative is to give a loud voice and a heavy vote to those who have most empathy with nature, the green wave, the ecologists, the eco-philes, including the eco-maniacs. But, we know so well how the "system" decided over Africa: certainly not with Africans present, and those friendly to the Africans, knowing them, feeling for and with them were dubbed idealists and relegated to the equivalents of the "non-governmental fora". Will not the same happen again, a very, very long gestation time before ideas mature in the barren womb of a system where the decision-makers probably only sense nature as photos, diagrams, test tubes or from plane and car windows?

I would be among the sceptics. I would tend to think that they would make the same mistake as the psychiatrists: putting the mentally disturbed inside institutions with basically the same structure as the social structure that contributed to driving them crazy so that they can say "our diagnosis was correct". Is it not likely that the system will produce a set of institutions and organizations that will simply substitute one type of pollution for another,

ending with thermic pollution, and then in high sounding annual declarations plead for more money, given the urgency of the state of the world? Among other factors I would tend to feel that an institutional, inter-governmental approach would be neither diversified, nor sufficiently equipped with a sensitive feed-back that could tell them whether they really are on the right track. Measurements of pollution in "ppm" and depletion in "years left at the current speed of exploitation" only touch a surface of short-term phenomena relevant to immediate concerns of human health and economic production.

By and large my prediction would be that the structure of these organizations will more or less determine the outcome. They will try to define the issue in such terms that the power over nature will be even more in the hands of bureaucrats (national and international) who will make sweeping decisions, researchers who will dissect nature in the customary way and capitalists who will make profits on the cleaning-up and recycling industries. In other words, it is the structure that will decide the solution to the problem; it is not the problem that will determine the structure.

In the present book the author will guide the reader through the maze of intergovernmental institutions that have come into being as a response to the shock. It is the first major study of international cooperation on environmental problems in intergovernmental organizations; for the industrialized countries also including regional organizations (such as OECD, Council of Europe, CMEA) and the U.N. Economic Commission for Europe). The study shows the evolution of a whole new field, both organization structure and idea structure, during the last nine years, using empirical methods, including interviews with over 100 officials and participants. The various chapters are designed to clarify the organizational arrangements, including the relations among the organizations, their working methods, political problems and the effects of cooperation. Above all the study will give the reader some idea of what is actually happening in this field.

And it will help the reader make up his mind whether these organizations are adequate for their tremendous task. The answer to that question may very well determine a good part of the fate of all of us.

Columbo, August 1979
Johan Galtung

OUTLINE

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ABBREVIATIONS

ACC	Administrative Committee on Cooperation
CMEA	Council for Mutual Economic Assistance
CORE	Common Register of Development Activities
CSCE	Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe
ECB	Environment Coordination Board
EC	European Communities
ECE	Economic Commission for Europe
ECOSOC	Economic and Social Council
ECSE	European Coal and Steel Community
EURATOM	European Atomic Energy Community
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
GEMS	Global Environmental Monitoring System
HLM	High Level Meeting (ECE)
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
ICES	International Council for the Exploration of the Sea
IGO	Inter-governmental organization
ILO	International Labour Organization
IOC	Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission
IRS	International Referral System (UNEP)
IUCN	International Union for the Conservation of Nature

ABBREVIATIONS (cont.)

NGO	Non-governmental organization
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
PCBs	Polychlorinated biphenyls
PSBs	Principal subsidiary bodies
SAEP	Senior Advisers to ECE Governments on Environmental Problems
u.a.	unit of account
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNEP	United Nations Environment Program
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNIDO	United Nations Industrial Development Organization
WHO	World Health Organization
WHO/EURO	World Health Organization/European Regional Office
WMO	World Meteorological Organization

INTRODUCTION

The 1972 United Nations Conference on the Human Environment and the 1971 Prague Symposium on Environmental Problems launched a global concern for what was in the early seventies a relatively little appreciated aspect of the development and growth process.¹ Since then environmental protection has become a legitimate source of concern for all elements of society and can no longer be passed off as an outlet for its frustrated strata. Volumes have been published trying to elucidate the nature of the environmental problem, its causes, and appropriate solutions. Confusion, frustration, and in many cases apathy, have resulted from the contradictory, sensational, and frightening affirmations and conjectures. Despite endless discussions, expenditure of considerable amount of resources, and attempts to reorganize political structures nationally and internationally, there is still no clear vision on how to solve environmental problems.

Nevertheless, the impact of environmental considerations on the socio-economic and political systems has already been much more far-reaching than had been anticipated (and perhaps is realized) and will have repercussions in the future which go far beyond the already very disturbing consequences which we are trying to grapple with today.

It is important to understand how the injection of the environmental dimension into the political process has affected decision-making and the policies and planning at the national and international levels. It is equally important to try to understand and evaluate what seems to be a never-ending glut of proposals, opinions, facts and emotions. This study concentrates on one aspect of the subject -- the impact of environmental issues on

inter-governmental organizations (IGOs) and the role that they have played in orienting changes in approach, perceptions, and attitudes towards environmental protection.

The principal objective of the study is to identify and evaluate the evolution of inter-governmental organizational approaches to environmental problems. This includes a critical analysis of the overall framework in which they have dealt with the problems. The study will analyze the trend to move from the treatment of environment from a narrowly defined perspective in the context of economic growth to a more holistic approach related to overall development. The approaches will be illustrated by examining the operational aspects of the organizations: the collaborative programs and the organizational arrangements. The study does not attempt to analyze the intergovernmental institutions and their legal mechanisms; nor does it purport to study the substance of international environmental problems. The aim is to look very concretely at what IGOs are doing in order to ascertain their overall perspective and fundamental goals.

The study will examine international cooperation on environmental problems among industrialized countries in five regional and sub-regional organizations -- the Economic Commission for Europe (ECE), the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the European Communities (EC), the Council of Europe, and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA).² The subject is particularly topical because environmental dysfunctions are the most acute in industrialized countries. In addition, the proximity of the European countries makes many of these problems inherently transnational in nature.

The search for a theoretical basis for evaluating international cooperation on environmental problems has lead to the realization that traditional theories of international organization are inadequate and even irrelevant in explaining how IGOs deal with environmental problems and why they chose a particular approach. The first task of this study, which is the subject of Chapter One,

is to elaborate an analytical framework. In Chapter One, two conceptual frameworks are developed: (1) the technical approach and (2) the structural approach. They serve as a basis for ascertaining the nature of the environmental problem, understanding and evaluating the environmental programs and organizational arrangements of IGOs, and identifying the goals of the organizations.

The second task of the study is to investigate the intra-organizational responses. Three aspects are treated: organizational arrangements, substantive responses, and functions. Chapter Two deals with the task of reorganizing secretariat and inter-governmental structures to deal with environmental problems. Their complex and multi-sectoral nature complicates the task of division of work, intra-organizational cooperation, and the development of coherent environmental programs. This chapter examines how each organization deals with these problems and analyzes the new organizational arrangements in terms of the technical and structural approaches. In Chapter Three the approach of the organizations to environmental problems is identified by examining how they define the problem and what they perceive as its causes and appropriate solutions. The original mandates are examined, as well as the modifications in the work programs. The subject of Chapter Four is the role of inter-governmental organizations in terms of the functions they perform. The goals of cooperative action as set out in the environmental mandates are reviewed first. The evolution of the functions and activities of the organizations are analyzed. The tendency of the organizations to move from fora for information exchange to vehicles for the coordination of policy is explored.

The third task of the present research is to explore inter-organizational arrangements developed to promote cooperation and coordination among organizations working on environmental problems. Chapter Four first defines the concepts of cooperation and coordination. Thereafter, various methods and results are examined. These include bilateral and multilateral inter-secretariat arrangements, followed by comments on governmental mechanisms. In attempting to answer the question: "What is

needed and by whom?", some basic suggestions are offered for improving the output of individual organizations, for facilitating cooperation among organizations, and for improving the division of labor. Finally, the nature of necessary reforms is examined.

The fourth task of this study is to evaluate the inter- and intra-organizational responses to environmental problems. This is the subject of Chapter Six which describes the effect of inter-governmental activities on the action of member governments, and gives an overview of factors that affect cooperative action.

Chapter Seven concludes by setting out some necessary conditions for effective cooperation and by examining appropriate functions, goals and approaches for IGOs working on environmental problems.

FOOTNOTES

1. Development is used broadly to mean the process of the evolution of society. Mal-development can thus include over as well as under-development.

2. The units of analysis are five different groupings of industrialized countries. The Eastern European countries, Cuba, Mongolia and Vietnam make up the CMEA. The European Communities have a restricted Western European membership. The Council of Europe consists of all Western European countries. The ECE represents Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals because it includes all Eastern and Western countries plus the United States and Canada. The OECD encompasses all Western Europe industrialized states, U.S., Japan, Australia, and New Zealand. Thus, we are essentially studying the enlarged European region.

CHAPTER ONE

FRAMEWORK OF ANALYSIS

An important theme of this study is the question of the direction and nature of change. The type of change deemed necessary to solve any problem is determined by the perceptions of the nature of the problem and its causes. The way the latter are formulated depends on the conceptual framework, paradigm, or world view. It is, therefore, important to understand the framework within which national and international policy-makers, critics and the public have been working and reflecting about the environment. The study of views expressed in current literature, in international conferences, in intergovernmental organizations and at the national level has led to the observation that environmental problems are analyzed within either of two different frameworks, which will be referred to in this study as: (1) the technical approach and (2) the structural approach.¹

The two approaches can be identified by their response to the following questions:

What are the important questions asked about the environmental problem?

How is the nature of the problem identified?

How are causes perceived?

What solutions are proposed?

The answers to the above questions help clarify the following:

1. How the perception of the causes determines the choice of appropriate solutions.
2. The adequacy of the approaches in solving the problems.
3. The impact and the implications of the solutions for economic, political, and social institutions.
4. The reasons behind the approach adopted, how the approach reflects the attitude towards societal goals and the type of change necessary to meet these problems.

It is important to emphasize that the two approaches are abstract models which serve as useful tools to analyze reality. They do not correspond to reality, which involves diverse combinations and interrelationships between the different aspects of the two constructs.

I. Technical Approach

The technical approach is so designated because the causes of environmental problems and their solutions are considered to be largely a question of technological inadequacies or innovations. The approach is statistical because it is the quantity or the degree of the problem that is considered. Technical also refers to the mechanical method of accomodating the economic and political system to take environment into consideration. It is assumed that the problems can be solved by incorporating new ideas into the economic system and restructuring the governmental bureaucracy. The approach to environment can be divided into two phases: unidimensional and multidimensional.

A. Unidimensional Phase

The unidimensional or what could be called the "clean-up" phase was very short-lived. In fact, it was a fleeting moment of wishful thinking. The unidimensional view was prevalent when the environment first gained public attention, generally in the late sixties and early seventies. From the unidimensional perspective, the basic questions to be asked are the following:

How much pollution is there?

Where does it come from?

How much do we need to get rid of?

How can we do it?

How much will it cost?

The environmental problem is seen as strictly one of pollution and the resulting economic effects of cleaning up or internalizing the external or social costs into consumption and production prices. This period is classified as unidimensional because there was a tendency to try to view the media, such as air and water, separately and because the nature of the problem was seen as strictly economic. Its cause was the fundamental failure of the economic system to integrate real environmental costs (the effect of production and consumption on common property resources such as water and air) into the market exchange. It is of course not surprising that the solution was seen as a choice of economic measures and technological fixes. Industries could be subsidized to help them clean up or the cost of pollution could be integrated into prices through effluent charges or standards (the polluters-pay principle). The effects on international trade that might arise because of unilateral action or adoption of different methods could be resolved through international agreements to coordinate types and extent of action. The unidimensional approach is more than any other technical because the physical solutions prescribed were generally technological innovations -- bigger and better devices or pollution control equipment.

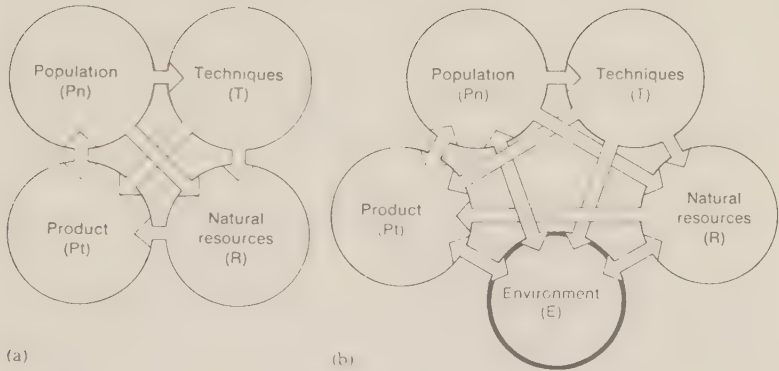
The conclusions to be drawn from this analysis are simply that the desired results can be obtained given sufficient allocation of capital and the willingness of society and industry to bear the costs. The financial and social implications are that a price must be paid for a clean environment, and given limited resources, trade-offs and choices must be made. The implications for the political system are that more laws, regulations, and controls are needed.

B. Multidimensional Phase

The multi-dimensional phase can be called the "environment is everything" phase. Although the emphasis in the late sixties and very early seventies at the domestic and international levels was on the economic aspects, there was a recognition from the very beginning of the interrelationships of environmental issues. The complexity of the problem became the major concern.

Attempts to give a comprehensive framework to the ambiguous concept of environment lead to a multitude of definitions. Some were mere additions of many factors. For example, environment was defined as multimedia (air, water, soil, human beings) and multisectoral (agriculture, land use, natural resources, nature and wildlife, industry, health, human settlements, trade, technology, and energy).

Other definitions tried to deal with environment in a more comprehensive manner. The systems definition² introduced the environment into the economist's traditional field of vision. However, this definition does no more than point out additional relationships which must be taken into consideration in a planning or development strategy. The systems definition is illustrated by the following diagrams:³



(a) The economist's traditional field of vision

(b) The introduction of the environment

The United Nations Environment Program (UNEP) offered the definition of "total habitat of man." This ecological definition includes (1) the natural environment, (2) man-made technostuctures, and (3) the social environment.⁴ Inherent in this definition is the examination of the quality of the environment. UNEP also made popular the concept of "outer limits" which emphasizes the fragility of the earth's ecological balance. At this stage the outer limits were thought to be determined essentially by the laws of nature and the quantity of existing resources.⁵

The early stage of the multidimensional phase complicated without fundamentally changing the technical framework. There were new questions, but their nature was the same:

How much land is there and how can we make the most efficient use of it?

Are there limits to natural resources?; if so, how can we plan for their most efficient exploitation? Must we limit our use of them?

Must we limit growth?

The above questions, like those of the unidimensional phase, help to define the actual situation, to ascertain the problems, and to realize the effort that must be undertaken to overcome it.

The multiple explanations of the causes of environmental disfunctions which follow from the multidimensional phase of the technical approach include: population growth, affluence within the consumer society, economic growth, wasteful use of natural resources, and misdirected technology. It follows that appropriate solutions must include not only pollution control, but population control, wisely directed if not limited growth, urban planning, resource management, and technology assessment.

The methods of implementation are confined to traditional multifunctional tasks: assessment; monitoring; training qualified experts and administrators; management and expertise; development of adequate laws, regulations, and enforcement procedures; and information systems.⁶ One implication of the above methods is that the political system can be improved through centralized planning mechanisms.

In sum, these two phases of the technical approach are both essentially descriptive. The questions asked help define and quantify the actual situation and estimate the magnitude of effort necessary to get rid of the external manifestations of the problem. The proposed solutions, which are generally economic measures, technological innovations, and centralization and expansion of governmental functions imply that the economic system can be improved, scientific efforts mobilized, and governmental institutions reorganized to meet the challenge.

II. Structural Approach

A. Quality of Life Phase

This phase is the next stage in the evolution of the understanding of environmental problems.

It is a transition between the technical and structural approaches. The main concern is with the discrepancy between material wealth and the quality of everyday living. The fact that the former often seems to correlate negatively with the latter has lead to serious reflection. The basic cause of the predicament is seen to be the inadequate and superficial goals -- unlimited economic growth and material progress -- which have produced unintended negative results. Part of the solution is therefore to be found by redefining and changing society's goals. One of the first responses was the rejection of GNP and strictly material standards of development as inadequate measures of the advancement of society. This has lead to attempts to develop other indicators of development.⁷

"Quality of life" as a goal has engendered a much more positive attitude. Instead of avoiding adverse effects, the emphasis is on creating something better. Instead of losing or doing without, there is something to gain. Typical responses have been the search for alternate lifestyles and more appropriate technologies. M. Taghi Farvar states the change in attitude as follows:

Unlike the usual belief that development has to cause environmental degradation or that environmental quality has to be achieved at the cost of slowing down development, we can see that one crucial characteristic of development is a beneficial alteration of the ecological system (or balance of life). Viewed from the environmental point of view, development is to be regarded as synonymous with improvement of environmental quality.⁸

This more subtle and sensitive approach has also engendered a reevaluation of the relationship between man and nature. Instead of focusing on the limits of nature which are viewed as obstacles to overcome, man and nature are seen as part of the same system in which harmony must first be recreated and then maintained. The premise of service of human needs as the basis for evaluation of environmental thought, law, and policy is also being challenged.⁹

This phase has also lead to a much more closely knit view of society's direction. Environment, instead of being the sum of all the factors which must be considered before making a decision is seen as the integrating concept which gives a comprehensive objective to the developmental process. The fact that questions "of resources, energy, environment, population and development cannot be correctly understood unless they are examined in relation to one another . . . implies planning within a unified conceptual framework."¹⁰ The search for this framework has lead to a structural analysis of the problem.

As might have been anticipated, the recognition of the need to reassess society's goals and the search for new goals and new methods to achieve them has lead to the questioning of the fundamental nature of society itself. It is at this point that the "quality of life" phase merges with the structural approach.

B. Structural Approach

The major premise of the structural approach is that the description of the problem provided by the technical approach will not provide a sufficient basis for understanding and resolving environmental problems. In fact, the questions asked do not even lead to a search for the causes. The technical approach considers manifestations of environmental degradation (pollution, dwindling resources) as not only the signs but the causes of the difficulties: effects are confused with the causes. The basic criticism is that the acknowledgement of a fact is not an explanation.

Although the solutions and methods outlined in the technical approach are not totally inappropriate, they are often superficial and only mitigate damage. The implication is that when technical solutions are used as cure-alls, they will not only fail to solve the problems, but may make them worse. Workable solutions can be found only after the underlying causes have been identified. The causes are to be found in the social, political, and economic structures at the national and international levels. The structural approach takes over where the technical approach leaves off: after ascertaining what the problem is, it asks the fundamental question, "Why is it so?"

Those adhering to a structural approach believe that the main causes of environmental disorders are to be found in the structures and goals of our political and economic systems and in the organization and goals of modern science and technology.

The first fundamental cause is the centralizing, bureaucratic nature of our political, and technological structures. Given the nature of the system, there is an inherent tendency to rely on centrally generated technical solutions which are capital and research intensive. Such techniques demand the creation of new groups of professionals, research and training institutes, and more governmental departments and intergovernmental agencies to coordinate research and to formulate policy.¹¹ The typical response to environmental, as well as other problems, is to look to a higher level of government for answers and to try to create bigger and better gadgets.¹² That answers might be found in simple technologies generated locally in many places at the same time is rarely considered. It is, in fact, no accident that we can go to the moon and we are using nuclear power as an energy source, but cannot harness solar energy for domestic use. The present structures will automatically favor big technological fixes supported by big government.¹³

The centralizing tendencies themselves could not be condemned if they evoked appropriate solutions. The criticism is that they do not. At the political level there is a perpetuating organizational

mechanism. Once in place, the policymakers, administrators, researchers, and engineers who depend upon the system for their livelihood will maintain it and make it grow even more. Bureaucracies provide few incentives to find solutions, and the few reached often create more problems. At the national and international levels this is witnessed by the never-ending "need to study the problem." The centralizing technological responses have been incapable of counteracting depletion and pollution. In fact, certain responses such as nuclear power plants have only introduced new forms of pollution (e.g. radioactive and thermal pollution) and new forms of depletion. However, more is involved than merely avoiding pollution and depletion.¹⁴

A relatively stable and dynamic equilibrium must be created. This can be achieved only through diversity and decentralization of economic, political, and social structures. The resulting complexity and spontaneity can create a certain invulnerability to the deliterious effects on the natural balance which are today a result of homogenizing, centralizing, regulating structures.¹⁵ In addition, ecological balance is more easily attained when the consequences of the effects of consumption are felt directly by the consumer and the consequences of production are felt directly by those who produce. There is a strong incentive to correct visible local effects. This is not the case when the effects of pollution and depletion are hidden in far-off corners of the world.¹⁶

Another cause of environmental problems is our attitude towards nature. Man's relation to nature is perceived as a vertical one. Nature is a challenge to be mastered. Until recently man has had an optimistic and naive view of the inexhaustibility of natural resources. When the limits to nature finally become apparent, we consider them obstacles and bottlenecks to be overcome. Even the foundation of environmental law is the homocentric perception of the service of human need.¹⁷

Another fault also lies in our understanding of nature as understood by the analytical basis of modern science -- that the world or any complex system can be

understood by investigating its isolated parts.¹⁸ Barry Commoner calls this methodology "reductionism." Natural systems threatened by modern technology cannot be effectively analyzed by isolating the constituents because "the network of inter-relationships which crucially determines the properties of the natural whole" are lost.¹⁹ Reductionism applied to modern technology explains many of the catastrophic effects on the environment. Technologies are designed to serve a very specific purpose and not to fit into the environment as a whole.²⁰ Massive modern technologies will inevitably have large-scale catastrophic effects and have already modified ecological cycles in two ways.

First, the ecological balance has been changed through the dislocation of cyclical processes and their replacement by linear processes where "the original forms of matter are not reconstituted, or at least not in the same place."²¹ The result is more depletion and pollution. Second, economic cycles have been expanded and complicated to the point that the effects occur far from the decision making centers. "Hiding" pollution creates the illusion that nature has no limits.²²

A further cause of environmental problems is to be found in the goals of our economic and political system. The fundamental goal is not the satisfaction of human needs but:

Circulation, meaning simply that matter is extracted, transported, processed, distributed, consumed in return for something needed to keep the cycle going, with all the waste products returned to nature. The cycle becomes a goal in its own right and its expansion, both in the geographical sense of encompassing large parts of the world and in the economic sense of handling more value becomes synonymous with development.²³

That "something needed to keep the cycle going" is the profit motive and the accumulation of capital. Hence, two fundamental questions: (1) To what extent is the market system the cause of environmental problems? (2) To what extent is it capable of rectifying these problems?

There are many cases which demonstrate the relationship between profits and pollution in the private enterprise system. For example, in the United States since World War II capital has been preferentially invested in unnatural and synthetic products that produce major pollutants because these products have yielded an extraordinarily high rate of profit and higher rates of growth.²⁴ There are innumerable situations where large-scale industrial and commercial activities are disturbing the ecological balance.²⁵ It is not necessary here to survey the abundant literature that concludes that economic growth motivated by profits can be unhealthy, destructive, and even pathological.²⁶ It is only necessary to recognize the validity of the analysis.

Concerning the second question, the reformability of the private enterprise system depends upon whether its operational requirements are compatible with environmental quality and ecological balance. If the primary goal of the system is growth through the accumulation of capital via profits, if the ecological and resource base cannot cope with the dehumanizing consequences of growth as an end and not as a means to meet human needs; then there is a fundamental incompatibility.

In sum, the structural analysis concludes that our predicament is not due to absolute physical shortages, the limitations of nature, and mismanagement, but to the political, social, and economic system. The latter is responsible for the existence of the former. The concept of outer limits is thus broadened to include not only the laws of nature and the quantity of existing resources, but also "the way man conducts his activities with respect to this natural situation."²⁷

Despite the severe conclusions of the structural approach, the nucleus for hope is found in the recognition of the fact that we, the people, are responsible for our own predicament.²⁸ We have made the wrong decisions and chosen the wrong goals. How can the process be reversed? The basis for a solution of course must be derived from the source of the problem: the goals and the organizational structures

of our political and economic system and of modern science and technology.

We must redefine society's goals and re-evaluate our attitude towards our place in the natural world. Man's competitive outlook must be replaced by a cooperative spirit. We must discard the archaic notions of growth and production as ends. These concepts must be re-evaluated in terms of achieving the satisfaction of material and nonmaterial needs for all, maintaining ecological balance, and improving environmental quality. In sum, we must reject the exclusive economic interpretation of development. Once our goals are redefined, we can reason from explicit desired social purposes and values in order to derive appropriate political, economic, and technical structures. Governed by a holistic view of man and nature, it is the evaluation of human needs and environmental objectives that will determine the technology and economic resources needed to accomplish these goals, and not vice versa. What is called for is the internalization of environmental factors into the decision-making process, rather than letting other values determine decisions and noting after the fact if the environment has been affected.

The implications of the structural analysis are far-reaching. The nature of the changes needed goes well beyond cosmetic adjustments. Structural transformations are called for.

Environmental awareness has evolved from the technical towards the structural approach. The contribution of the unidimensional phase was to describe the problem and to bring attention to the urgency of the situation. The multidimensional phase made us aware of the interrelationships and complexity of the problem. The quality of life phase started asking more fundamental questions. The contribution of the structural approach is to clarify the real nature of the causes from which viable long-term solutions can be derived. The redefinition of goals generated by the structural analysis can form the foundation for more comprehensive technical programs. A synthesis of the two approaches allows a balance between practicality and vision, between tactics and strategies.

The two conceptual frameworks will be used as a basis for identifying and analyzing the evolution of orientations of the environmental programs of the five organizations. The following three chapters describe and evaluate, first, the organizational arrangements; second, the substantive responses or programs of work; and thirdly, the actual functions of the cooperative action.

FOOTNOTES

1. Albertini uses the terms statistical and technical approach to differentiate between a description and a causal explanation of the development process. See Albertini, J. M., "Les mecanismes du sous-developpement," Paris, Editions economie et humanisme, Les editions ouvrieres, 1967.

2. Systems here refers to a series of relationships. Not to be confused with structure which refers to economic, political and social structures.

3. Sachs, Ignacy, "Environment and Styles of Development," Outer Limits and Human Needs: Resource and Environmental Issues of Development Strategies, edited by William H. Matthews, Uppala, The Dag Hammarskjold Foundation, 1976, p. 46.

4. Ibid., p. 44.

5. Matthews, William H., "The Concept of Outer Limits," Outer Limits and Human Needs, Ibid., p. 15.

6. These correspond closely to the functional tasks of UNEP. See "Introductory Report of the Executive Director," UNEP document UNEP/GC/57, 23 January 1976, p. 4. The tasks of the organizations under study are also similar. See Tables 3-9.

7. For a comprehensive list and description of indicators see World Indicators Program, Galtung, Johan et al., "Measuring World Development," No. 2; "Ecology, Energy and Resources: Some Problems of Indicator Formation," No. 8; 1975; "Waste Production & Overdevelopment: An Approach to Ecological Indicators," No. 9, 1976, Oslo, Chair in Conflict and Peace Research.

8. In relation to developing countries the issue is first "to meet the basic minimum needs of the population, needs such as adequate and nutritious food, access to health care, satisfying employment, reliable shelter, sufficient sources of energy, a healthy environment." The environmental resources needed to fulfill these needs are called

"inner limits." The "outer limits" refer to the point beyond which ecological relationships become imbalanced.

Farvar, M. Taghi, "The Interaction of Ecological and Social Systems: Local Outer Limits in Development," Outer Limits and Human Needs, pp. 67-68.

9. See Tribe, Laurence H., "Ways Not to Think about Plastic Trees: New Foundations for Environmental Law," The Yale Law Journal, Vol. 83, No. 7, June 1974, pp. 1315-1348. Tribe argues that current "environmental judgments turn on calculations of how well human wants discounted over time are satisfied." (p. 1317). He points out the limitations for this homocentric perspective and then puts forth a new rationale for environmental policy which includes the notion that nature in itself "embodies values apart from its usefulness in serving man's desires." (p. 1327).

10. Sachs, p. 42.

11. Ibid., Chapter 3. Galtung, Johan, "Development, Environment and Technology: Towards a Technology for Self-Reliance." United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, TC/B/C.6/23, 23 June 1978, para. 111.

12. "We try to solve all irrationalities with a gimmick," Bookchin, Murray, Post-Scarcity Anarchism, Berkeley, The Ramparts Press, 1971, p. 75.

13. Why is this so? Johan Galtung offers the most perceptive explanation in his conceptual analysis of alpha and beta structures and the expansion of economic cycles. Alpha structures are centralizing, bureaucratic and have no size limitations. They are also exploitative, dependency creating, fragmenting, and marginalizing. Beta structures are decentralizing and have size limitations. Correspondingly, they are equitable, autonomous and participatory. See Galtung, Johan.

14. Galtung, Ibid., para. 109.

15. Galtung, Ibid., para. 112, and Bookchin, p. 65.

16. Galtung, Ibid., para. 107. Bookchin's interpretation goes even deeper. He states: "Man has

produced imbalances not only in nature, but, more fundamental, in his relations with his fellow man and in the very structure of his society . . . nature emerges directly from the domination of man by man The plundering of the human spirit by the market place is paralleled by the plundering of the earth by capital." Bookchin, Ibid., pp. 62-3.

17. Tribe, p. 1317.

18. Bookchin states that not only does modern science tear "things apart rather than integrating them" but it is "an instrument of control over the thought processes and physical being of man." Bookchin, p. 57.

19. Farvar, M. Taghi and Milton, John P., The Careless Technology, Garden City, New York, The Natural History Press, 1972, p. XXIV.

20. Ibid., XXV.

21. Galtung, Para. 104

22. Ibid., Para. 102-107

23. Ibid., Para. 108.

24. Commoner gives many examples of new polluting technologies that yield higher profits than the less polluting technologies which they have displaced. One example is the development of synthetic detergents to replace soap. Commoner, Barry, The Closing Circle, New York, Bantam Books, 1971, pp. 257-268.

25. Farvar.

26. One such work is Schumacher, E. F., Small is Beautiful, New York, Harper & Row, 1973. See especially pp. 40-52.

27. Matthews, William H., "The Concept of Outer Limits," in Outer Limits and Human Needs, p. 17.

28. As Pogo put it, "We have met the enemy and he is us."

CHAPTER TWO

ORGANIZATIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

All the organizations under consideration dealt with certain aspects of environmental problems as far back as the middle 1950's. However, in the early 1970's the intergovernmental committees and secretariat structures were reorganized in order to expand environmental activities and to deal with these problems in a more comprehensive manner.¹ The complexity of environmental matters, due to the fact that almost all issues have environmental components or implications, complicated the task of reorganization. A basic concern was the division of work within the organization and the extent to which environmental activities should be centralized or divided among the various committees. Even in the case where a high degree of centralization was attempted, it was still necessary to integrate the work of several committees. All the organizations therefore were faced with the task of devising mechanisms for intra-organizational cooperation and coordination and for the development of a comprehensive environmental program. This chapter will investigate the manner in which each organization has dealt with the interdisciplinary nature of environmental problems and their effectiveness in doing so.

I. Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development

The OECD decided to concentrate the responsibility for environmental activities within the Environment Committee which was set up in 1970 to replace the Committee for Research Cooperation. During its ten-year existence, the latter concentrated on technical research studies of specific environmental problems, such as air and water pollution, aircraft and automobile noise, and urban transport and traffic congestion.² So that it might deal with all aspects of environmental problems, the Environment Committee was given a multi-disciplinary mandate with the right to consider technical and scientific developments as well as their financial, economic, trade, and social implications. The transfer of the work of the Committee of Research Cooperation presented no problem, nor did the widening of the scope of the mandate to include environmental policy and management.

The Environment Committee originally consisted of four Sector Groups, several ad hoc groups, and the Sub-Committee of Economic Experts. The two Sector Groups carried over from the Committee for Research Cooperation -- Water Management and Air Management -- were remanded.

Two new Sector Groups were established, one to study chemicals in the environment and the other to study the urban environment. The original ad hoc groups dealt with air pollution from fuel combustion in stationary sources; pollution by the pulp and paper industry; and the impact of the motor vehicle on the environment. In 1973, an ad hoc group on the environmental impact of energy production and use was established. Since 1975, several other groups have been created: the transfrontier pollution group, an ad hoc group on noise abatement policies, the waste management policy group, the group on energy and environment.

It was recognized from the beginning that some of the work would fall within the domain of other OECD committees. Where this was the case, the concerned committees were to work with the relevant Environment Committee subgroup. This was often specified in the mandate of the subgroup. A second form of inter-committee cooperation was through the formation of joint ad hoc groups. The general procedure was for a joint mandate to be discussed and approved by the two or three committees involved. Then letters were sent to the permanent delegates of member countries asking them to nominate members to the joint group. During the existence of the group, the secretariats of the committees work together. At the final stage, the report is submitted to the original committees for discussion and approval.

Despite the original intentions, there have been relatively few cases of inter-committee cooperation. One case which was specified in the mandate was that of the Group on the Motor Vehicle which was to work in close cooperation with the Industry and Oil Committees. There are also two cases where joint ad hoc groups were formed. One was on the pulp and paper industry set up by the Environment Committee and the Industry Committee. The other was on air pollution from fuel combustion set up by the Environment, Energy, and Oil Committee. The latter two groups succeeded in cooperating well. A Joint Policy Issues Group on Waste Disposal was contemplated by the Environment, Industry, and Agriculture Committees, but was never actually established. Since then, this method of inter-committee cooperation has not been pursued. The Urban Sector Group worked with the Manpower and Social Affairs Committee to develop urban indicators which were part of an overall project on social indicators. There have been no activities carried out with the Trade Committee, although many of the environment activities deal directly with the trade effects of environmental policies. The Environment Committee did furnish the data for a report prepared by the Working Party No. 2 of the Economic Policy Committee on Economic Implications of Pollution Control.³

There are several reasons for the lack of inter-Committee cooperation. During the first few years of its existence, when it was a relatively powerful body within the organization, the Environmental Committee was not always interested in seeking advice from or cooperation with other committees. Furthermore, other committees have often been unwilling to cooperate with the Environment Committee and its subgroups. A project to study the siting of nuclear plants was abandoned in 1973 due to the interference by the Nuclear Energy Agency (NEA) which in addition to refusing to give data, worked effectively through national delegates to prevent the Environment Committee from studying this topic. Siting, however, did become part of the work program in 1975. In the mid 70s, the International Energy Agency (IEA) refused to furnish data for projects on energy and the environment. Within the last couple of years cooperation between the Environment Committee and the IEA and NEA has improved considerably. There are few problems in sharing information and data now. The work of the Environment Committee on coal, for example, will be based on the energy scenarios prepared by the IEA. There was close cooperation with the IEA in the preparation of the recommendation on coal and the environment adopted at the Ministerial Meeting in May 1979. Both agencies have requested the participation of the Environment Committee in preparing the environmental aspects of some of their studies.

There are no difficulties in the working relationships between the groups; the differences are substantive. The groups serve two different constituencies with different objectives. The agencies are committed to the traditional OECD emphasis on economic growth, while the Environment Committee espouses different priorities and questions some of the basic premises of the growth model. Their perspectives of the issues and their solutions are thus often totally different. For example, in regards to the siting of nuclear power plants, IEA is concerned with environmental licensing procedures that involve the shortest delays. Their interest in public participation and alternate siting is aimed at accelerating the process. Environmentalists do not want the plant to be built at all. Despite fundamental differences, active

dialogue continues between the groups. Secretariat members of the IAE presented to and invited comments from the Environment Committee on their report on Steam Coal Prospects to 2000 (the Environment Directorate helped prepare the environmental part of the report) and on an IEA document containing ministerial action on coal to be discussed by the Energy Ministers in March 1980. Much cooperation between the groups is envisaged for the future. It should be appreciated that the acceptance of a dialogue in the context of recognized differences of points of view is a more useful and positive form of cooperation than the artificial search for superficial agreement.

The cooperation between the energy agencies and the Environment Committee is partly a reflection of the general economic and energy situation. Cooperation was at a low after the energy crisis and the establishment of the IEA. At this time the status of the Environment Committee within OECD declined. In fact the Environment Secretariat was moved from the main headquarters to an annex in order to make room for the Energy Agency. More recently cooperation has been enhanced by the newly perceived complementarity between environmental and energy policies, especially in the area of conservation.

It would seem logical that there would be interaction between the Environment and the Industry Committees. Initially, cooperation was difficult because of conflicting interests and disagreement over competence. More recently there has been a willingness to cooperate. Communications on chemicals, for example, have been good and involved both the exchange of information and views. The basic problem is the practical question of limited time and resources of secretariat staff.

In addition to the need for cooperation between committees, there is need to coordinate and integrate the work between the various subgroups of the Environment Committee. There are several examples of cooperation between subgroups, but the results are of mixed success. Not only were the Sector and ad hoc Groups to work together, but the Sub-Committee of Economic Experts was established to perform one

of the principal functions of the Environment Committee -- incorporating the economic and trade aspects into the understanding and solution of environment problems. Members of the Sub-Committee attended the meetings of the Groups, reviewed their reports, and worked with them on specific projects. However, during discussions in Spring 1975, one of the major criticisms made by the Environment Committee in evaluating its working methods was precisely the inadequate use of the multi-disciplinary approach, particularly in the case of economic input. The Economic Experts have not been able to integrate satisfactorily the economic factors with the technical solutions found in the Sector Groups, and an economic methodology for incorporating environmental factors in economic policy has not been forthcoming.

There are several reasons for the inadequate performance of the Economic Experts in integrating economic factors into the studies of the ad hoc and Sector Groups. The economists did not always adequately know or understand the technical details of the specific problems. It was originally thought that economists would have a general knowledge about all environmental policies, but this knowledge was often more limited than that of participants in the Sector Groups. Furthermore, the Sector Groups were not always interested in working with the Economic Experts, especially when their views conflicted. An example was the case of Motor Vehicles where the Economic Experts favored taxes and charges while the ad hoc Group was strictly opposed to this point of view. Reviews often took place at the final stage of the reports, which was too late to have a serious impact. Economic factors cannot be simply added at the end of a project. They must be planned for and incorporated into the entire project. Difficulties were also related to the inadequacies of national structures where the economic and Sector Groups were uncoordinated and their interests incompatible. For example, the participants to the Sector Groups were sometimes unaware of decisions already taken by the Economic Experts or in the Environment Committee by officials high in national hierarchies. This latter problem is gradually being overcome.

Another method for integrating different interests has been through multi-disciplinary participation. The mandate of the Joint ad hoc Group on Pulp and Paper stipulated that the composition of the Group would be balanced and representative of three different interests -- environmental authorities, industrial ministries, and experts from the pulp and paper industry.⁴ The results were successful. The participants to the Sub-Committee of Economic Experts have come from the economic, trade, and environment ministries. This has been less satisfactory in meshing interests due to domestic conflicts of interests between these groups and resulting lack of policy coherence.

Interdisciplinary meetings have been held from time to time. In 1972 a Special Meeting on Environmental Aspects of Water Management Decisions brought together environmentalists from many disciplines. These meetings can be useful as unique events to stimulate the awareness of the various groups to other aspects of the problem as was the case at the above meeting. But they are too large to efficiently tackle specific problems. Smaller groups could, however, be convened to follow up some of the ideas put forth at the initial meeting.

A new working method -- the project approach -- approved by the Environment Committee in 1975 and applied since late 1975 aims at facilitating a more multisectoral arrangement. It consists of the adoption by the Environment Committee of a limited number of projects at its first meeting each year, which it assigns to the various subgroups for implementation. Projects can be proposed by the Environment Committee, the subgroups, or the Secretariat, but the decision as to their inclusion in the program rests with the Environment Committee. Interaction between groups is encouraged by requiring several groups to comment on relevant projects carried out by others.

The new emphasis on an integrative, as opposed to a sectoral, approach in working methods was complemented by the definition of the subject matter according to three broad areas, which also correspond to new secretariat divisions: industry and the

environment, energy and the environment, and the urban environment. The committee structure was not altered although "Sector" was deleted from the names of the Groups. In addition, special meetings of experts were to be convened to deal with specific projects. The secretariat is free to invite only those experts whom it feels can provide the necessary technical expertise. In an attempt to dissociate the Secretariat staff with a specific group and to encourage the multidisciplinary approach at the secretariat level, a project leader and one or two other staff were assigned to each project. The Economic Analysis Unit was dissolved and the staff distributed to the energy and industry divisions. The economic aspects of each project would henceforth be incorporated from the beginning.

There are several reasons for the new arrangement. With secretariat resources flat or decreasing and with new problems of political importance demanding attention, i.e., energy problems, to which one third of the resources were to be devoted, the need was felt for a centralized mechanism to select a limited number of projects. In addition it became increasingly important to limit the compartmentalization of the Sector Groups and to encourage the interaction of all the groups. The project approach is an attempt to move from the coordination of separate sectors to broadening the scope of individual projects or to achieve a multisectoral approach within, instead of between, projects.

The project approach has been only partially successful in achieving its original goals. The attempt to integrate the economic aspects from the beginning has worked fairly well. The degree of its success is due to the reorganization of the secretariat structure. The economists have worked directly with the groups in formulating their work from the beginning. The intergovernmental structure, however, did not change. The Sub-Committee of Economic Experts was maintained. This reflected an acceptance of national structures which are largely sectoralized, making it hard to integrate environmental and economic interests at the national

level and to expect that economists would be sent to the sector groups.

Several intended advantages did not work out as planned. The multisectoral approach at the secretariat level has run into difficulties when a staff member is assigned to several projects. The time available is not adequate to acquire the competence necessary to make a substantial contribution. In order for the team approach to work, the staff must be willing and able to cooperate with each other professionally as well as personally. What has happened is that the team leader has become entirely responsible for the project.

Now that the Groups are no longer responsible for choosing their own projects, the success of a project depends upon whether the Group has the competence and the interest to carry it out. This has not always been the case. This is why new groups are sometimes created to deal with a specific project. But if this is necessary then it seems illogical to have a project approach and keep the original Groups. The Groups have been unhappy with their lack of autonomy, but the Environment Committee is gradually listening more to them.

It is still difficult to achieve multisectional inputs through comments by different groups, and there is no link between projects. For example, there is no joint consideration of the projects on traffic limitation in cities, control of nitrogen oxides and hydrocarbons, noise prevention and abatement, and clean fuel requirements to implement air pollution control policies. Several other legitimate complaints are that the duration of a project cannot be limited in advance; cooperation cannot always be defined by or restricted to specific projects; and a certain germination period, including consideration by the group to carry out the project, is needed to develop and agree upon the areas of cooperation. In sum, although the project approach has led to some improvements, it is clear that organizational arrangements alone cannot overcome the difficulties of integrating the multidimensional aspects of various activities between independent groups.

II. Economic Commission for Europe

In the late 1960's the Economic Commission for Europe created two bodies to deal with pollution problems -- the Committee on Water Problems (whose mandate also included problems of water resources utilization) and the Working Party on Air Pollution Problems. The first proposal for a more comprehensive examination of environmental problems was made and adopted at the Commission's 22nd Session in 1967. The Czechoslovak Government proposed the convening in Prague of an ECE meeting of governmental experts on problems relating to environment.⁵ The conference was to give definite shape to a comprehensive approach and expanded action within the ECE on environmental problems. Environment became one of the four overall priority areas for cooperation within the framework of ECE⁶ in 1969 when reorganization of the Commission's structure and re-evaluation of its work program were undertaken under the direction of the then newly appointed Executive Secretary.⁷

In 1970 the Commission decided to convene in December of that year an ad hoc Meeting of Senior Governmental Advisers on Environment which would be preparatory to the Prague Conference to be held in May 1971. The Meeting recommended to the Commission the establishment of a new Principal Subsidiary Body entitled Senior Governmental Advisers to the ECE Governments on Environmental Problems (Senior Advisers or SAEP). This body was created at the 26th Session of the Commission on April 29, 1971,⁸ and met for the first time in April 1973. At the same time, the Working Party on Air Pollution was incorporated as a subsidiary body of the Senior Advisers.⁹

From the beginning it was understood that the Senior Advisers on Environmental Problems would complement, but not replace, the environmental work done by the sectoral or vertical bodies of the ECE.¹⁰ As a horizontal body, it was established to deal with broad environmental problems and those where a multi-disciplinary approach is required. Given the nature and number of the sectoral bodies, it was obvious that a large part of the substantive work

should be done by, or at least should involve, the cooperation of these bodies. The question naturally arose as to where the coordination should be done and who should perform the necessary function of developing an integrated ECE environment program. This question was discussed at length at the First Session of the Senior Advisers in April 1973.

Many delegations expressed the view that it was appropriate for the Senior Advisers, as the policy-makers representing their governments in this field, to perform both the tasks of preparing an integrated ECE environmental work program and of coordinating all the environmental activities of the ECE. They did not want to do just general studies, leaving the specific work to the discretion of the technical bodies. They argued that if they did not coordinate they would have no effective role to play, and that coordination would not be done adequately. Going through the Commission is a long process. It was suggested that the Commission "had neither the time nor the expertise to pull together itself all ECE environmental activities in a single integrated and balanced program."¹¹ Views were also expressed that the Senior Advisers needed statutory power to coordinate and that persuasion was not enough. A fear was voiced that without supervision and participation by the Senior Advisers, work carried out in the subsidiary bodies would not adequately take environmental factors into consideration.

The Executive Secretary explained that some of the views expressed did not coincide with the basic character of the Commission or with the relevant decisions of the Commission concerning the arrangements for coordination of the work programs of the Principal Subsidiary Bodies (PSBs).¹² Features of the organizational practice, which were approved in April 1969 by the Commission, are that all PSBs, horizontal and vertical, are directly responsible to the Commission, with the latter having exclusive right to coordinate directly, and that "all organizational units including the Committees should have substantive responsibilities and not mainly supervising and report-receiving functions."¹³

Although coordination must be carried out by the Commission, harmonization of policy between the PSBs can be achieved through the services of the Secretariat in the following manner. A dialogue can be established between the PSBs through the Secretariat. This involves the reporting of all relevant activities, the mutual exchange of documents and the conveyance of any ideas, suggestions, and recommendations to other bodies. As a result, the PSBs advise and persuade one another as regards the initiation or orientation of studies and arrange for cooperation on activities of mutual interest. The latter include joint sponsorship of meetings, seminars and symposia, and the representation of experts in meetings of mutual interest. If the committees addressed do not respond, there is recourse to the Commission, which has the statutory power to coordinate the activities of the PSBs. In the present case, it is the task of the Senior Advisers to "stimulate the relevant activities carried out by other Principal Bodies on the basis of their comprehensive view of environmental problems."¹⁴

The Executive Secretary argued that the best coordination is actual cooperation through joint consultation. Lack of coordination is often caused by lack of knowledge. He further explained that the other horizontal bodies had been successful precisely because they had concentrated on practical work instead of on coordination. Furthermore, "Experience at ECE has shown that international coordination was best carried out by applying the logic of consistency and by persuasion rather than by applying methods of hierarchical authority."¹⁵ This view and method of work reflect a very important fact, -- "that coordination on the international level can be effective and not counterproductive only if it is based on a prior coordination of governmental positions at the national level."¹⁶ Thus real coordination of the environmental activities of the PSBs, where the various interests in the national administrations are represented, can be done only through the intermediary of national machinery, which exists in very few if any countries. As a consequence, ECE should not attempt to coordinate internationally what cannot be coordinated nationally.

This quest for the power of coordination was, on the part of some governmental representatives, an attempt to influence through the ECE a delicate and unresolved interdepartmental domestic problem of power. They were trying to do at the international level what they were unable to do at the national level. In fact, many of the participants holding this position did not have the political authority at home to decide on such a restructuring, which would have implied a shift of power nationally as well as internationally. Some of the Senior Advisers were nevertheless correct in arguing that the present organizational arrangements for coordination are often slow and ineffective. However, these arrangements are the best that the Secretariat leadership could devise given the political structures at the governmental level. If there were a clear delineation of authority at the national level for environmental policy-making and coordination, it would be easy and logical to reflect it at the international level by giving parallel coordination power to the Senior Advisers. Unfortunately, this is not the case.

Recognizing the institutional nature of the Commission and the political realities which it reflects, the Senior Advisers included the following task in the terms of reference: to "review periodically, in the interest of consistency in the environmental activities of the ECE, all ECE activities and programmes related to the environment and, in close cooperation with the other Principal Subsidiary Bodies, prepare specific suggestions and recommendations, in particular for a comprehensive and integrated ECE short-term programme and long-term programme on the environment, for consideration and approval by the Commission."¹⁷ This solution can only be effective if there is governmental coordination.

The ECE Secretariat has taken its responsibility of acting as a liaison between the various committees seriously. Through the services of the Secretariat, the SAEP has been successful in stimulating environmental activities in other PSBs, many of which are carried out in cooperation with the SAEP. Many of the PSBs have taken the initiative themselves in proposing activities and in seeking advice and cooperation from the Senior Advisers. There are, however, limitations to this type of cooperation.

Participants of the different committees can work together only through joint studies and the joint sponsorship of meetings and seminars. These involve a rather long process of communication between subsidiary bodies through the intermediary of the Secretariat. The difficulty with the studies is that there is really no interaction between committees except for the cooperation between the Secretariat members servicing the different committees. The real interdisciplinary nature of the seminars depends upon the composition of national delegations. Nevertheless, several studies¹⁸ and seminars¹⁹ have been sponsored jointly or with the cooperation of other PSBs.

Despite the long and sometimes cumbersome nature of inter-committee cooperation, one of the strengths of the ECE division of work is that the work can be carried out on specific sectors by the experts of that sector who are the most qualified to deal with it,²⁰ in cooperation with the SAEP who can offer overall guidance on the environmental implications. This procedure is not, however, always followed. The development of guidelines for the control of emission from the non-ferrous metallurgical industries and of guidelines for the control of emissions from the inorganic chemical industry are being prepared by two separate task forces independent of ECE sectoral committees.

One problem which has not been resolved is the lack of procedure or criteria by which an all-encompassing ECE environmental program can be formulated or evaluated. The Commission is adequate for overviews only, since it approves, but does not design, the program. The short and long-term programs of SAEP are more a list of separate activities to be carried out by the SAEP or in cooperation with other PSBs. In addition, each PSB has its own independently developed program which may or may not include environmental problems within its competence. The sum does not constitute a comprehensive and integrated ECE program. There is no cadre within which the individual parts of a coherent program can be articulated. At present each part is justified on its own. A set of objectives could be prepared by the SAEP if they are to fulfill item seven of their terms of reference. However, since they meet once a year with a full agenda, it is difficult to

undertake such a task. In sum, it will take a concerted effort to make the harmonization role by the SAEP effective.

III. Council of Europe

The Council of Europe was the first organization to have an inter-governmental committee to work on environmental problems. In 1962 the Committee of Ministers set up the Committee of Governmental Experts for the Conservation of Nature and Landscape.²¹ Although the original terms of reference and the basic concern with the natural environment have remained the same, the functions and working methods of the Committee have evolved through subsequent decisions of the Committee of Ministers. The most important change was the establishment of the European Information Centre for Nature Conservation in 1967 with the function of keeping decision-makers and the general public fully informed on environmental issues. Its increased concern with information also led to the organization of the European Conservation Year and Conference in 1970, which involved a wide publicity campaign in all member States, with the aim of influencing public opinion and decision-makers.

The European Conservation Conference urged the Committee of Ministers to convene a European ministerial conference, which in fact met in 1973 and adopted resolutions clearly indicating the areas of future work of the Council on environmental matters. Following the enthusiasm generated at the Conservation Conference and implicit in its guidelines for the Ministerial Conference was the idea that the substantive activities of the Council of Europe would be widened to include other aspects of environmental issues. In fact, it was felt, by the participants in the Conference at least, that the Council of Europe would be a suitable all Western European organization in which to concentrate cooperation in this field. However, despite the

fact that the Council of Europe was the first international organization to develop a structure and to elicit public awareness, other institutions moved into this field of activity after 1969. The declaration of the Conference had not fully appreciated the fact that the development of environmental programs in other international organizations would inevitably interfere with the idea to expand Council of Europe functions in the area.

The Secretariat of the European Committee seized upon the opportunity of the Ministerial Conference to reorganize the intergovernmental structures of the Committee. The new arrangement, proposed and accepted in 1973, and implemented since 1974, retained the European Committee but formed three new permanent sub-committees, which correspond to the major areas of the work program: (1) the Sub-Committee for the Conservation of Wildlife and Natural Habitats, (2) the Sub-Committee for the Planning and Management of Natural Areas, and (3) the Sub-Committee for Information and Training.

There are several other Council of Europe bodies which deal with certain aspects of environmental problems. They include two intergovernmental committees: the Committee on Monuments and Sites and the Committee on Cooperation in Municipal and Regional Matters; the European Conference of Ministers Responsible for Regional Planning; and the Conference of Local and Regional Authorities of Europe, which assembles representatives of local government.²²

Although there are obvious areas where the above groups could interact and carry out complementary work, this has not been the case so far. Interaction has been limited to being informed through the secretariat and to sending observers to some of the others meetings or conferences. The European Committee for example, was only informed by the Secretariat of the Conference of Alpine Regions in September 1978 organized by the Parliamentary Assembly and the Conference of Local and Regional Authorities. A significant amount of the work of the European Committee, much of it done specifically on the alpine region would have been a logical and important input to the first theme of the conference

on the receptive capacity and development limits of the alpine region. Likewise, one could have expected substantial coordination with the European Conference of Ministers responsible for Regional Planning (October 1978) on their conference report "Guidelines for the planning of rural areas in Europe: Contribution to an overall European regional planning policy." Unfortunately the mandates of all the various bodies are strictly defined and there are few intra-organizational arrangements for cooperative work.

Interdisciplinary participation was a problem in the old European Committee.²³ The working parties, which met twice a year, attempted to tackle a dozen different types of problems. The participants to the Working Party on Flora, Fauna and Landscapes for instance, included botanists, agronomists, managers, ecologists, landscape artists, engineers and others. In reality few members were competent to deal with a specific topic. As a consequence the output was general, not always of high quality, and much time was needed to reach a result. In sum, the work advanced very slowly, or sometimes not at all.²⁴

The sub-committees were indeed interdisciplinary but too large and did not have the expertise to deal with specific issues. The aim of the new method was to have interdisciplinary groups of experts who are nevertheless each working on a specific question. Thus the working party on alpine regions included an environmental lawyer, an ecologist, a manager, a botanist, a zoologist, and a geographer -- all working on the ecological problems of alpine regions. The ad hoc group on natural landscapes included an agronomist, a landscape artist from a research institute of landscape protection, a director of an institute of agronomy and agriculture, an administrator who was head of a nature conservation division, a management expert, a landscape planner, an administrator working on the classification of landscapes in his country, and two observers from the International Federation of landscape architects -- again, all from very different backgrounds but working on the same problems. This method has been effective in achieving quicker and more specific results.

IV. European Communities

In early 1971 a small administrative unit on the environment was established by the Commission of the European Communities under the General Directorate of Industrial, Technological and Scientific Affairs. The task of the working group, which consisted of seven professionals was to coordinate all environmental affairs within the Community and with international organizations and to promote environmental programs in the various General Directorates where the substantial work was to be undertaken. The working group was responsible for the writing of the first two Communications on a Community environment program (July 1971 and March 1972). It was assisted in its tasks by an Interservice Group, where each General Directorate with an interest in environmental matters was represented.

In January 1973 at the first meeting of the Commission after the enlargement of the Communities, a new and permanent structure was established. An autonomous unit called the Environment and Consumer Protection Service was created with the same responsibilities, status, and powers as a General Directorate. The Service was established specifically to integrate the multisectoral aspects of environmental problems. In addition to its responsibilities of coordination and elaboration of a Community environmental program, it was to carry out projects which do not fall under the responsibility of the other General Directorates. It was recognized that much of the substantive work would have to be done either in, or in collaboration with, the Directorates where general competence lies (transport, agriculture, industry, research, social affairs).

The Interservice Group was continued as a permanent contact and clearing point between the Environment Service and the concerned General Directorates.²⁵ The initial Interservice meetings served essentially as an exchange of views on the development of the program, the members outlining what could and should be done in their respective Directorates and the resources needed for these

activities. The Group meets at the Director level about every six weeks, although there is continuous contact between those who assume responsibility for specific problems within the Service and the Directorates. The initiative for and elaboration of proposed Directives and Decisions to the Council are the responsibility of the Environment Service, whereas many of the preliminary studies and all the research are done in the General Directorates.

The European Communities is the only organization where policy formulation, development of an overall program, and intra-organizational coordination is centralized in one group which has the authority to perform these functions. It is the only institution where a formal group of representatives of other bodies working on environmental problems exists to facilitate coordination. In addition, the normal consultative procedures insure the approval and cooperation of all the relevant Directorates.

There are eleven main Directorates working on environmental problems. The work on the evaluation of risks to human health is largely being done by the Directorate of Social Affairs. The improvement of working and living conditions is also a part of Social Policy. The economic aspects of anti-pollution measures are worked out within the Directorate on Economic and Financial Affairs. Action concerning industrial sectors is part of industrial policy and thus worked out with the Directorate on Industrial Affairs and Technology. Approximation of laws relating to polluting products is the responsibility of the General Programme for the Elimination of Technical Barriers to Trade. Much of the work on the protection of the natural environment is being carried out within the Common Agricultural Policy or Regional Policy. The development of regulations on the subject of additives and pesticides in the field of human and animal foodstuffs and on veterinary practices is part of Agricultural Policy. The research program is essentially drawn up and supervised by the Directorate of Research, Science and Education. Euratom also has significant environmental activities.

Although a normal amount of rivalry exists between the Environment and Consumer Protection Service and other Directorates, the organizational arrangements have proved satisfactory for coordinating the various aspects of environmental problems, precisely because of the elements that are lacking the inter-governmental organizations -- the legal status and powers of Commission in general and of the Service in particular.

V. Council of Mutual Economic Assistance

On 28 April 1971 an agreement was signed on Elaboration of Nature Protection Measures enlarging the view of environmental questions to be treated by the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. This agreement is part of the Complex Programme of the CMEA for Scientific and Technical Research of 3 July 1971.²⁶ In addition, seven separate agreements, covering twenty-one subjects, were concluded in 1971 by the CMEA member countries. These concerned specific environmental problems, relative to and to be carried out by five Permanent Commissions. While the initial accords outlined general areas of cooperation, the details were elaborated in the Overall Expanded Program of Cooperation among CMEA countries and Yugoslavia in the Period up to 1980 in the Field of Environmental Protection and Improvement and Rational Utilization of Natural Resources, approved by the Executive Committee in October 1974.²⁷

In March 1973, the Council for Environmental Protection and Improvement, a subsidiary body of the Committee for Scientific and Technical Cooperation, was established to elaborate and coordinate the environmental work of the CMEA. In addition, numerous Councils of Representatives and Coordination Centers²⁸ were created to take responsibility for various areas of environmental cooperation.²⁹

There are six sets of Councils of Representatives and Coordination Centers responsible for six complex environmental problems: (1) socio-economic, legal and educational aspects, (2) environmental health, (3) eco-systems and landscapes, (4) prevention of air pollution, (5) meteorological aspects of air pollution, and (6) solid waste disposal.

These Councils report directly to the Environmental Council. The Conference of Heads of Water Economy Bodies has four Councils and Coordination Centers. The Permanent Commissions on the Chemical Industry and on Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy also have both bodies. The work on town planning and settlement systems is coordinated by a working group on town building and zoning of the Permanent Commission on Construction. Work on noise and vibration control and protection and rational utilization of natural resources is carried out in several permanent commissions and coordinated by the Council for Environmental Protection. In addition, environmental activities continue to be carried out in the framework of CMEA Permanent Commissions dealing with specific industries: electric power, coal, oil and gas, ferrous metallurgy, non-ferrous metallurgy, and engineering.

The broad mandates of the six Councils of Representatives and the Coordination Centers organized to deal with problems which must be handled comprehensively, and the decentralized working methods which allow the Coordination Centers to work directly with research and scientific institutions facilitate the integration of the different aspects of the six "complex environmental problems." However, given the fact that the Permanent Commissions and Coordination Centers sometimes deal with different aspects of the same problems, the necessity for inter-committee coordination has not been avoided. There are no official contacts between the Permanent Commissions and the Coordination Centers. Inter-body cooperation must therefore go through the Council for Environmental Protection which was set up to perform this function. The Council has the political status to coordinate the work falling within the domain of more than one ministry. In reality the cooperation and coordination

between different bodies is highly dependent upon the efforts of the Secretariat and subject to the same bureaucratic problems faced in other organizations.

VI. Some Conclusions

The intergovernmental and secretariat structures created to deal more adequately and comprehensively with environment reflect the multi-dimensional phase of the technical approach. Environment is seen as a multi-sectoral problem, the various aspects of which must be coordinated. All the organizations have attempted to broaden the scope of individual projects and encourage multi-disciplinary participation within bodies. However, coordination between projects and the group dealing with them is still the most frequent manner of integrating the various aspects of complex problems. The ECE and the European Communities intended to create mechanisms through which the environment committees and divisions could not only interact with but influence the orientation of other bodies. This has been partly realized through the efforts of the ECE Secretariat and has been successful in the European Commission. The OECD hoped that the broad mandate of the Environment Committee would preclude the necessity for extensive interaction with other Committees and between Directorates. The Council of Europe perceived the natural environment as another sector which could be dealt with by a separate body. The CMEA, while recognizing the simultaneous need for new groups to deal with complex problems and for an integration of environmental awareness in the traditional sectors, did not envisage adequate mechanisms for interaction among the bodies. While the European Communities have been successful in realizing intra-organizational interaction, all the intergovernmental and secretariat structures have to a large extent made environment an additional sector.

Several general points can be made about the inherent problems involved in the attempts of the intergovernmental organizations to coordinate their various environmental activities. In the first place, many of the difficulties are a reflection of the lack of efficient centralized national structures and the consequent inability to coordinate adequately environmental policies. The national structures and their different interests are simply projected on the international level.

The second problem is found in the nature and limitations of intergovernmental organizations themselves. With the exception of the European Communities, the organizations under consideration have only a very general corporate purpose. They are a loose grouping of different intergovernmental committees and subgroups whose objectives are not only often different but also sometimes in conflict. In addition, it is difficult to extract a will of a committee which at best has a transient existence, given the turnover in its participation and the intermittence of its meeting. Committees themselves do not interact. Therefore cooperation between them can be effected only in meetings of a limited number of members from the various groups or through the intermediary of the secretariat.

Cooperation between committees is a time-consuming and drawn out procedure because groups do not meet at the same time and because time is lost in administrative procedures. In practice cooperation essentially takes place between secretariat members. The fact that different directorates or different divisions within a directorate are involved complicates their relation. Furthermore, secretariat members may be more committed to defending the views of the groups they represent than to working closely with others. For the above reasons, coordination often takes place either by good will or as a result of instructions from the director, the latter method not always being the most efficient. Because of the above difficulties, the most successful cooperation among different interests often takes place when the representatives of different interests work directly together, as was the case in the joint ad hoc groups of the OECD, especially in the ad hoc Group on Pulp

and Paper and the interdisciplinary groups of experts of the Council of Europe.

Having examined the different attempts to incorporate and coordinate environmental activities, what conclusions can be made about the advantages or disadvantages of the centralization or decentralization of work among the various parts of an organization? The centralization of the coordination and program formulation in one body with the legal power to carry out its functions is the most effective means, but only possible in a supranational organization as the European Communities. The attempt to overcome the difficulties of coordination between the various intergovernmental and secretariat bodies led the OECD to concentrate its work in one committee and in one secretariat division. Although this did eliminate certain time-consuming procedural arrangements between the committees and staff of different Directorates, and despite the fact that secretariat tasks are easier when its members work under the same direction and in physical proximity, it did not lead to the hoped-for integration of interests and understanding between the Environment Committee and its subgroups. It did not eliminate the difficult task of coordinating different groups with different interests. The Environment Committee does have the power to create and dismantle its subgroups, and to decide on their programs, but it cannot harmonize conflicting interests that exist at the national level.

Given the all-pervasive nature of environmental problems, even with this centralization in one body, other committees must be involved. This is not just because environment concerns them too, but because they have the expertise necessary to understand the problems as they relate to their specific sector. Of course a balance must be achieved when the initiative is left to the sectoral committees, so that environmental factors are adequately taken into account. The fact is that different groups must be coordinated, whether within or between committees, essentially by the secretariat. The most important point therefore seems to be that even when the legal power exists, as is the case

with the EC Commission, the extent to which there can be effective cooperation between the different interests depends heavily upon the good working relations of the secretariat members, their physical proximity, and their managerial skills and efforts.

FOOTNOTES

1. See Appendix One for a discussion of the working methods of the secretariats and committees dealing with environmental problems.

2. The remaining part of its program was transferred to the new Science Committee.

3. Economic Implications of Pollution Control: A General Assessment, Paris, OECD Publication no. 32, 913, February, 1974.

4. "Mandates of the Sector and ad hoc Groups of the Environment Committee," OECD document, Environment Directorate, 30 July 1971.

5. Work of the Economic Commission for Europe 1947-72, United Nations publication, no. E.72.II.E.3, 1973, p. 211.

6. ECE Resolution 5(XXIV), 9-23 April 1969, "Long-term Programme of Work and the Organization of the Activities of the Commission," in Compendium of Resolutions and Decisions of the ECE 1947-72, United Nations publication no. 72.II.E.3, 1973, p. 211.

7. "Long-term Programme of Work and the Organization of the Activities of the Commission," ECE document, E/ECE/717, 9 December 1968, p. 3.

8. ECE Decision J(XXVI) 9-30 April 1971, "Problems of Environment," in Compendium of Resolutions, p. 247.

9. ECE Decision L(XXVI), 9-30 April 1971, "Problems of Air Pollution," in Compendium of Resolutions, p. 248.

10. The Commission is made of twelve vertical bodies representing sectoral interests (Committees on Agricultural Problems; Chemical Industry; Coal; Electric Power; Gas; Housing, Building and Planning; Inland Transport; Steel; Timber; Development of Trade; Water Problems; and Conference of European Statisticians) and three horizontal bodies (the

SAEP, Senior Advisers to ECE governments on Science and Technology, and Senior Economic Advisers to ECE governments).

11. "Report of the First Session of Senior Advisers to ECE Governments on Environmental Problems." (2-6 April 1973), ECE document, ECE/ENV/2, 16 April 1973, pp. 14-15, para. 48.

12. Ibid., p. 15, para. 50.

13. Work of the ECE 1947-1972, pp. 166-167.

14. "Report of the First Session," p. 15, para. 50.

15. Ibid.

16. Ibid.

17. ECE Decision B(XXIX), item seven.

18. The SAEP contributed to the ECE study on basic products and energy. The SAEP cooperated with the Conference of European Statisticians in carrying out a study on statistics required for the study of the environment. The Senior Advisers on Science and Technology agreed to cooperate closely with the SAEP in carrying out a study on the environmental aspects of energy production and use, with particular reference to new technology.

The Committee on Water Problems provided appropriate national information for the SAEP work on the examination of the methods of establishing national protection standards for major water pollutants. ("Summary Reports for Activities in the Programme of Work and Priorities for 1974-75," Senior Advisers to ECE Governments on Environmental Problems, ECE document, ENV/R.28, 29 November 1974, pp. 21-24.)

19. The Seminar on the Ecological Aspects of Economic Development Planning (1975) was jointly sponsored by SAEP and the Senior Economic Advisers. The Seminar on Statistics for Environmental Studies was jointly sponsored by SAEP and the Conference of European Statisticians, (1973). The SAEP made a contribution to Symposium on the Planning and

Development of the Tourist Industry (1975) in the ECE Region held under the auspices of the Commission. The Seminar on the Role of Transport in the Urban Environment (1976) was jointly sponsored with the Committee on Housing, Building and Planning. The SAEF cooperated with the Coal Committee in holding the Seminar on Environmental Problems and the Coal Industry (1976). The SAEF assisted the Timber and Agricultural Committees with the Symposium on the Effects of Pollution on Vegetation (1977). (Ibid., pp. 18-20, 23-26.) The seminar on air pollution problems from specific brands of the organic chemical industry (1979) was co-sponsored by the Chemical Industry Committee.

20. See Appendix Three: ECE Environmental Activities carried out by Committees Dealing with Specific Sections.

21. Its name was later changed to the European Committee for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources.

22. See Appendix Two for a description of the work of the Council of Europe on urban problems and at the local and regional levels.

23. The organizational arrangements until the reform were as follows: The European Committee for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources met once a year for one week. Its function was essentially to decide upon, guide, and review the progress of the work program. The substantive work was done by permanent working parties: the Working Party on Flora, Fauna and Landscapes; the Working Party on Education and Information and by a limited number of ad hoc study groups: on water conservation.

24. An intermediate step was to contract experts to do basic reports. This helped speed up the work and improve its quality and specificity. However, the committee structure remained inefficient.

25. The Inter-Service Group on Environment is composed of representatives of the following directorates: Legal Service; External Relations; Economic and Financial Affairs; Industrial and

Technological Affairs; Competition; Social Affairs; Agriculture; Transportation; Development; Information; Internal Market; Research, Science and Education; Regional Policy; Energy and Euratom Safeguards and Controls; Statistical Office and the Joint Research Center.

26. Yugoslavia is also party to this agreement.

27. "Information on Cooperation among the CMEA Member Countries in Environmental Protection and Improvement and Related Rational Utilization of Natural Resources," prepared by the CMEA Secretariat for the Third Session of Senior Advisers to ECE Governments on Environmental Problems, February 1975, p. 2.

28. For a description of these bodies see Appendix One.

CHAPTER THREE

SUBSTANTIVE RESPONSES

The approach of the five organizations to environmental problems can be identified by investigating their work programs. An appreciation of the general orientation of the environmental programs can be gained by examining the original mandates in terms of how the organizations defined the nature of the problem, what they perceived as its causes, and consequently what solutions they considered appropriate. The general orientation of the programs of each organization is illustrated graphically in Table 1 which shows the degree of emphasis given to seven principal areas which are discussed below. Modifications in the work programs will be analyzed in order to ascertain any changes in approach.

I. Original Mandates: General Orientation of Environmental Programs

A. Nature of the Problem

The original overriding concern of three of the organizations was the economic implications of environmental and especially pollution control policies. The most important specific preoccupation of the OECD and ECE was the possible effects of unilateral environmental measures and different methods of pollution control on international trade and investment patterns. One of the major issues was the possibility that increased costs of home industries resulting from environmental controls

TABLE 1

GENERAL ORIENTATION OF ENVIRONMENTAL PROGRAMS

	C OF E	OECD	ECE	EC	CMEA
Trade effects	0	X	-	X	0
Economic implications	0	X	X	X	-
Ecological and natural resources	X	-	-	+	+
Health	0	0	0	+	-
Legal; policy, planning and management	X	X	X	X	+
Educational	X	0	-	-	-
Scientific and technical	+	+	+	+	X
Social, evaluation of human aspects	-	-	-	-	-

X = main emphasis of work

+

- = a few activities cover this aspect

0 = only marginally or not a part of work

would adversely effect the level of real national income, long-term comparative advantage, and the international trade position of the country as a whole and of its specific industries. Differences in environmental standards could also effect investment patterns or the relocation of polluting industries in countries with lower standards. This became known as exporting pollution. It was also feared that environmental controls could be used as restrictive trade practices. For example, in the case of consumer goods, product standards could be used as disguised nontariff barriers. Another issue was the effect of controls on trade and investment in natural and synthetic resources and resource development.

The first mandate of the OECD Environment Committee¹ stated that it should pay particular attention to the trade implications of environmental problems. In attempting to assure that environmental policies do not jeopardize the operation of the Common Market, the European Communities were generally concerned with the trade effects of national and Community policies. Two sections of the first Community environment program related specifically to trade effects: action concerning certain industrial sectors,² and measures to harmonize the specifications of, and lay down standards for, polluting products.³ The latter is part of the General Programme for the Elimination of Technical Barriers to Trade. The only work in the ECE on trade implications was done by the Inland Transport Committee. The CMEA and the Council of Europe have no such activities.

The mandate of the OECD Environment Committee specifically stated that it was to deal with the economic implications of environmental problems and their solutions, including the cost effectiveness of the latter. The Sub-Committee of Economic Experts was set up to evolve an economic methodology to incorporate environmental factors into economic policy and to help the Sector Groups incorporate economic factors into the solutions to specific problems.⁴ One of the objectives of the environment program of the European Communities, in accordance with the broader objectives of the organization, was to promote a harmonious development of economic

activities among its members. In addition to specific action concerning the economic aspects of anti-pollution measures, economic factors were an integral part of all the activities related to specific environmental problems.

The ECE is also concerned with economic factors. The terms of reference of the Senior Advisers to ECE Governments on Environmental Problems state that they should "bear in mind the fundamental relationship between, and compatibility of economic and social development."⁵ The terms of reference of both the Working Party on Air Pollution⁶ and the Committee on Water Problems⁷ state specifically that they should investigate the economic aspects of their respective fields. The mandate of the CMEA Council for Environmental Protection makes no mention of economic cooperation, but one of the eleven areas of the environment program is partially concerned with socio-economic problems.⁸ The Council of Europe is not concerned with economic elements as such.

With the exception of the Council of Europe, the protection of nature and natural resources originally received little attention. In fact, the Council has been the principal European organization to work in this field. The main emphasis of its environmental work is ecological and has been so since 1962 when the Committee of Governmental Experts for the Conservation of Nature and Landscape was set up. The OECD originally dealt with natural resources only in relation to industrial pollution and energy. The ECE has not carried out ecological work with the exception of that related to energy and economic development planning. However, the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe considered conservation of nature and natural reserves as one of the fields of cooperation.⁹ Work in this field has hitherto not been a part of CMEA activities, but its work program envisages cooperation on the protection of ecosystems and landscapes¹⁰ and on the protection and rational utilization of natural resources.¹¹ The environment program of the European Communities includes several important activities concerning the protection of the natural environment and the consequences of the depletion of certain natural resources.¹²

It has generally been recognized that the health aspects of environmental problems would be best dealt with by the World Health Organization. This recognition and the very nature of the other organizations explains the fact that the ECE, OECD, and the Council of Europe do not have activities relating to environmental health problems. The European Communities are involved in activities on the objective evaluation of the risks to human health and the determination of criteria for a long list of pollutants. Community health (air and water quality) standards are to be laid down for the same list of pollutants after the criteria have been ascertained.¹³ The entire third chapter of the Euratom Treaty deals with the protection of the "population and works against the health hazards resulting from ionizing radiation." Euratom activities in this area include: (1) the setting of standards or maximum permissible doses, for radiation; (2) the adoption of regulations to strengthen health protection and monitor radioactivity, and (3) a research programme.¹⁴ CMEA work does not touch on health aspects per se, although a few activities are envisaged in this area.

B. Causes

The fundamental cause of environmental problems was seen to be the failure of the economic system to incorporate qualitative considerations. The theme of qualitative economic growth, as opposed to an exclusively quantitative approach (e.g., social amenities as opposed to GNP), is an essential element of the conceptual basis for action of most of the organizations under consideration. The reorganization of the intergovernmental and secretariat structures to deal more comprehensively with environmental problems is a result of the growing concern that uncontrolled economic growth threatens the quality of life and the natural environment.

The European Communities' first environment program states that "The aim of a Community environmental policy is to improve the setting and quality of life and the surroundings and living

conditions of the peoples of the Community. It must help to bring expansion into the service of man by procuring for him an environment providing the best conditions of life, and reconcile this expansion with the increasingly imperative need to preserve the natural environment."¹⁵

The transformation of the OECD Committee for Research Cooperation into the more comprehensive Environment Committee marked a change in approach towards economic growth among OECD member countries. A new broader view was adopted encompassing environmental factors which were to be incorporated into economic calculations along with the traditional factors of production.

C. Solutions

In all the organizations the concern of the early 70's with "quality of life" was essentially within the context of economic growth. It follows that the appropriate solutions were perceived as those which integrated qualitative factors into national economic policies. Thus in the OECD, for example, social and environmental indicators were to be developed to complement economic indicators in an attempt to measure a nation's qualitative as well as its economic performance.¹⁶

The emphasis in all the organizations on policy, planning and management illustrates the importance accorded to reorganizing governmental structures, expanding administrative functions, and creating a legal foundation for environmental policies. The terms of reference of the ECE Senior Advisers state that this body should "identify and examine selected problems of environmental policy" and examine the implications of national environmental policies and legislation. It should also "stimulate the development of analytical tools and methods for improving decision-making on problems of the environment."¹⁷ The Council of Europe is particularly concerned with the planning and management of the natural environment and of the human environment in relation to the preservation and restoration of monuments, sites, and buildings

of historical and artistic value. All the Sector and ad hoc groups of the OECD Environment Committee were set up with the primary intention of helping national administrators better manage specific environmental problems. Their tasks include review and assessment of national policies and the development of proposed solutions and policy options.

Most of the work in this area undertaken by the CMEA up to 1975 had been on the scientific and technical aspects of policy and management. The expanded work program, while maintaining the above emphasis, envisaged several cooperative activities in relation to such problems as the planning of town and natural areas and the working out of criteria for improving environmental management systems.¹⁸

The aim of the environment program of the European Communities is the development of a comprehensive European environmental policy through the adoption of formal legal measures dealing with the management and increasingly with the planning and preventive aspects of an extensive number of specific environmental problems.

Educational activities relating to training, schooling, and public information were aimed at creating a constituency to support and encourage governmental action. The Council of Europe is the only organization which has as a main emphasis of its work information, education, and training in the field of the natural environment. The environment program of the European Communities includes projects to promote awareness and training and educational activities. The terms of reference of the ECE Senior Advisers state that they "should encourage the study of possibilities for the education and advances training of specialists."¹⁹ Although the OECD has no activities in this area, one of its major objectives, like that of all the organizations, is to facilitate the exchange of information among policy makers.

The faith in scientific and technological solutions, is in part a reflection of the concern of all the organizations with the exchange of scientific information and the examination of technical aspects of specific problems. The main thrust of the environmental work of the CMEA is scientific and technical. It involves cooperation

and coordination of basic and applied research and information exchange. The European Community is interested in the scientific and technical aspects of environmental problems as part of appropriate specific solutions. The significant amount of research and studies carried out on these aspects are prerequisites for Community action.

The initial work programs attempted to evaluate or incorporate social factors that would improve the human environment. Such activities often formed an integral part of those pertaining to the urban and working environments. The European Communities had projects on urban development and improvement of amenities, improvement of the working environment, and the creation of a European Foundation to promote and carry out research and experimentation on the improvement of working and living conditions.

Social aspects are a part of OECD's work on urban improvement and on development of environmental indicators. The ECE Senior Advisers are to "bear in mind the fundamental relationship between, and compatibility of, economic and social development and environmental protection."²⁰ ECE activities which include social aspects are also carried out by the Committee on Housing, Building and Planning. The CMEA envisages work on town planning and human settlement systems which incorporates social factors.

D. Problem Areas

A brief resumé of the problem areas specified in the mandates will provide an additional reference for drawing conclusions about the initial approaches. The mandates of some of the organizations were very specific, while others left the choice of areas of action up to the inter-governmental committees. The most specific and comprehensive mandate is that of the European Communities, which was a two-year program. There were two main categories of action. The first aimed at reducing and preventing pollution and nuisances and included the following areas: human health, water, air and noise pollution; polluting products; certain industrial sectors (initially pulp and paper, iron and steel, titanium dioxide,

and energy production, to be followed at a second stage by ten other industries); wastes and residues; and the economic aspects of anti-pollution measures. The second group of activities, aimed at improving the environment, included protection of the natural environment (forestry, farming and the preservation of the country-side, ecological effects of agricultural production techniques, and the quality of foodstuffs); depletion of certain natural resources; urban development and improvement of amenities; working environment; and education and public awareness.²¹

While the mandate of the OECD Environment Committee²² referred to the type of action to be undertaken and the general orientation of activities, each of its sector and ad hoc groups had its own specific mandate.²³ The Sector Groups were responsible for the broad problems of water management, air management, chemicals in the environment, and urban environment. There was also the Sub-Committee of Economic Experts to deal with economic and trade implications. The original ad hoc groups handled very specific problems: air pollution from fuel combustion in stationary sources, pollution by the pulp and paper industry, the impact of motor vehicles on the environment, and waste disposal. Since 1973, ad hoc groups have been formed in relation to the environmental impact of energy production, transfrontier pollution, and noise abatement.

The original mandate of the European Committee for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources of the Council of Europe, adopted in 1962, stated that it should work for: (1) the conservation of nature and natural resources; (2) the preservation of landscapes and natural habitats; (3) the establishment of new nature reserves and national and intra-European parks.²⁴ The European Ministerial Conference held in 1973 concluded that the work of the Council on environmental matters should be limited to four main areas:

1. The planning and management of the natural environment, including recreational areas;
2. The conservation of wildlife and areas of scientific value;

3. Information, education and training in the fields of the natural environment;
4. The preparation of a European Convention on the protection of international freshwaters.²⁵

These guidelines were not meant to exclude the environmental work carried out by other committees, especially that of the Committee on Monuments and Sites.

The CMEA countries signed eight agreements in 1971 which set out broad areas for which research cooperation was to be worked out. The Overall Expanded Program of Cooperation in the Field of Environmental Protection, designed in accordance with these agreements and approved in October 1974, included activities in the following eleven areas:

1. Socio-economic, organization, legal and educational aspects of environmental protection
2. Hygienic aspects of environment protection
3. Protection of ecosystems and landscapes
4. Protection of the atmosphere against pollution
5. Meteorological aspects of air pollution
6. Neutralization and reclamation of general industrial, agricultural, and other wastes
7. Protection of waters from pollution
8. Basic directions for town planning; and settlement systems with due regard for environmental protection and improvement and natural areas
9. Ensuring safety from radiation
10. Noise and vibration control
11. Rational utilization and protection of natural resources.²⁶

The terms of reference of the ECE Senior Advisers were the least specific, leaving it up to the body itself to decide upon areas suitable for cooperation. It is general practice in the ECE to make organizational guidelines rather general. In addition, the terms of reference of the Senior Advisers were left open so they would be able to absorb other tasks which might be delegated to them by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

E. Some Conclusions

Although the original environmental mandates dealt with many aspects of the environmental problem, their main concern was with the economic implications and trade effects of pollution control policies. Action was directed primarily to curative solutions. Qualitative growth was dealt with essentially in terms of incorporating environmental factors into economic calculations. There was a recognition that all aspects interrelate but the media were dealt with separately. The preoccupation with the reorganization of governmental structures and the coordination of national policies through information exchange and international agreements reflected a confidence that political, economic and technical solutions could be found if countries were willing to pool resources and share information. The approach of the early period when the initial programs were formulated was thus largely technical with many unidimensional and some multidimensional aspects.

II. Modifications in the Work Programs 1974-1978

The incorporation of environmental activities into the program of intergovernmental organizations came at a time when the economic climate was favorable and reflected a determination to integrate

new values and considerations into the criteria for economic growth. Since 1973 the situation has changed and the industrialized countries have experienced severe economic difficulties. Those concerned about the environment have naturally been preoccupied with the effect that this situation would have on national environmental policies. Despite the delayed implementation of certain aspects, the OECD concluded in 1976 that the overall effect had not been negative. The OECD Environment Committee collected evidence showing that "although there are mounting pressures in a few countries to delay some programs or to apply lower standards, on the whole, environmental policies and programmes are still being implemented without undue restriction or delay."²⁷ The energy crisis, by highlighting the vulnerability of national economies in regard to supplies of non-renewable raw materials and by drawing attention to the need of avoiding wastage of natural resources, in some cases strengthened environmental policies.

Ministers and participants in international meetings affirmed their government's intentions to pursue cooperative programs. Between 1974 and 1976, the OECD, Council of Europe, and the European Communities met at the ministerial level to evaluate their environmental cooperation. The results of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) had an important impact on the work of the ECE. The orientations of the intergovernmental programs were modified to take into consideration the experience gained in carrying out the initial programs, alterations in environmental situations, and shifts in priorities. This is reflected in revised approaches, additions and changes in areas to be treated, and, in one case, a modification of working methods. An examination of the revised programs leads to the observation that the organizations were broadening their work to include many aspects of the multi-dimensional phase of the technical approach.

A. European Communities

Reflecting the conclusions of the debate on future Community action regarding the environment by the Council of Ministers on 16 October 1975,²⁸ the Commission presented a draft resolution to the Council on 24 March 1976, on the "Continuation and Implementation of a European Community Policy and Action Programme on the Environment."²⁹ One of the most important conclusions of the Council of Ministers was that environmental policy should be pursued independently of changes in the economic situation. To ensure this, it was decided that a long-term concept of environmental policy would be more effective and the second program was drawn up for a five-year period, 1977-1981.

Other important guidelines and principles of the Second Action Programme on the Environment, are the following: First, the objectives and principles defined in the first program were reaffirmed and work on measures not yet completed were to be continued. Secondly, special emphasis was placed on preventive action, particularly in relation to land use, pollution, and the production of wastes. ("The decision-making process should take the effects on the environment into account at the earliest possible stage.")³⁰ Third, special attention was given to the protection and rational management of natural resources, spaces, and the environment. Finally, the international nature of the problem was reaffirmed³¹ with the following statements: (1) Regional cooperation must be intensified. (2) The major aspects of environmental policy cannot be planned individually by countries. National programs and policies should be coordinated and harmonized within the Community on the basis of common long-term plans. (3) Activities in one State should not cause environmental deterioration in another State.³²

There were many new areas of emphasis in the Second Program. In regard to the first section of the Program on the reduction of pollution and nuisances, priority was given to preventing and reducing the pollution of fresh and sea waters.³³

New steps for noise abatement were proposed and given priority.³⁴

A second major and new section of the program on protection and improvement of the environment was devoted to non-damaging and rational management of space, the natural environment, natural resources, and impact assessment. The concept of rational management of space was introduced for the first time, as was the development of a mapping system to present consolidated data on the natural environment as an aid to planning in the use of space.³⁵ It was suggested to undertake measures relating to rural areas and to urban, coastal, and mountain regions. There were numerous ideas for the protection of flora and fauna including wild plant and animal species threatened with extinction, protection of marine fauna and of wetlands of international importance, and the conservation of genetic resources.³⁶ In relation to the protection and management of natural resources, particular attention was given to the protection of water resources and to the fight against waste including waste management by a comprehensive policy of prevention, reclamation, and disposal.³⁷ A significant addition to the program was the introduction of Community procedures for assessing environmental impact.³⁸

A final section of the program concerned Community action at the international level. This involves participation in other IGOs, bilateral relations with non-member countries, and the negotiation and ratification of international agreements. It was also proposed that environmental factors be taken into account in cooperation between the Community and developing countries.³⁹ In the three years following the adoption of the Second Environment Program the main developments concerned the preparation of Community legislative acts for the prevention and reduction of pollution. Acts were proposed and adopted by the Council of Ministers relating to air, water and noise pollution, chemicals in the environment, and toxic wastes.⁴⁰ A Waste Management Committee was set up in 1977 to assist in formulating an overall policy in the field. It approved action programs on packaging and waste paper and began investigating the energy

potential of wastes and their use in agriculture. In the area of improving the environment a draft method for ecological mapping was developed, basic studies were carried out on environmental impact assessment, a Directive was adapted setting up a general system of legal protection for birds and their habitats, and an initial experimental phase in the creation of a network of pilot schools for environmental education was completed and expanded to include other age groups. Some initial work was begun on the economic use of waste in agriculture and integrated pest control. Studies were carried out in the development and ecological management of coastal regions. Concerning natural resources, studies were made on the recycling of non-ferrous metals and on the production, consumption and industrial uses of cadmium.

The most important aspect of the implementation of the Second Program was in the area of prevention and reduction of pollution. Less, although important, work was done to prepare the groundwork in the area of improvement of the environment.

B. The Organization for Economic Development and Cooperation

The Declaration on Environmental Policy and the ten action proposals (which were subsequently issued as Recommendations of the Council) adopted at the OECD Environmental Committee meeting at ministerial level in November 1974, spelled out in detail the objectives of the Environment Committee and set the broad program for the next few years.⁴¹ The major issues were integration of environmental policy in socio-economic development policy, environment-energy policies, transfrontier pollution, urban problems, toxic chemicals, guiding principles, environmental impact statements prior to major projects, and waste management and recycling.

Several new trends became apparent at the Ministers' meeting. First, curative environmental policy and pollution control per se, were being replaced by a more preventive approach calling for close integration of environmental policies and decisions on socio-economic development, notably

energy policies and land-use policies. Second, environmental policy was no longer viewed in strictly sectoral terms. Third, the "second generation" environmental problems, which concern amenities and prior assessment of possible environment effects, make necessary the development of new concepts and instruments which integrate environmental considerations into macro-economic policy as a whole.

The ideas expressed at the ministerial meeting and the experience gained in its first four years of activity were reflected in the amendment of the mandate of the Environment Committee as adopted by the Council 25 March 1975.⁴² The areas to be treated were those which could give rise to conflicts between countries concerning shared resources or as a result of national policies, and common problems related to the protection and improvement of the natural and urban environment, with particular reference to economic and energy considerations. It is important to note that trade implications were no longer specifically mentioned and that economic implications, although mentioned once, were no longer the predominant issue.

The program of work between 1976 and 1978 reflected the change of emphasis as expressed at the ministerial meeting and in the amended mandate. The emphasis on an integrative approach led to defining the subject matters to be treated according to three broad areas: energy and the environment, industry and the environment, and the urban environment. The percentage of effort to be devoted to each was approximately 30% energy, 50% industry, and 20% urban.

Although work continued on specific sectoral problems of pollution control, a limited number of complex problems, particularly in relation to energy, were chosen for study, notably: power plant siting, environmental impact of off-shore production of oil and gas, energy production and use in cities, and clean fuel requirements and air pollution control policies. Two intersectoral projects were added to the program: tourism and environment and transfrontier pollution: management of frontier zones (See p. 299). Activities in the area of urban environment and land use included urban environmental indicators, urban traffic policies, application of environmental criteria and standards to land use

planning, and noise abatement policies. Projects on environment and industry included environment and employment, waste management, control of specific water pollutants, toxic chemicals, cost of pollution abatement, and the economic implications of restrictions on the use of fluorocarbons.

The emphasis in the 1976-1978 work program on an integrative approach to deal with complex problems indicated a shift to a multidimensional outlook.

C. Council of Europe

The Second European Ministerial Conference on the Environment held in Brussels the 23-24 March 1976, affirmed the specialization of the Council of Europe in the field of the natural environment. The themes discussed related largely to those of the resolutions of the First Conference (Vienna 1973) which indicated a clear desire to continue the work outlined in Vienna.⁴³ The three resolutions⁴⁴ included recommendations to governments and recommendations to the Committee of Ministers for inclusion in the work program of the European Committee for the Conservation of Nature. Some of the most important aspects of the latter are outlined below. Resolution No. 1 on Reconciling Economic Development with the Protection of the Natural Environment introduced a new area for cooperation: assessment. It recommended the exchange of information and experience and the development of general principles for assessing the effects of development on nature. It also recommended a series of actions related to leisure pursuits and nature conservation including the assessment of the effects of open-air activities on the natural environment; the study of the carrying capacity of natural areas subject to recreational pressures; the establishment of networks of leisure areas; and the study of transfrontier leisure areas.

Furthermore, the Conference recommended the preparation of two inventories; one on natural resources including landscapes and natural environments for protection and another on ecosystems. It also supported the establishment of a European

network of protected areas which could come under the patronage of the Council of Europe.

Resolution No. 2 recommended speeding up work already in the medium-term plan (1976-1980) on the protection of wildlife concerning: the drawing up of lists of animal and plant species and their biocenoses threatened with extinction and in need of urgent protective measures; studies on natural and semi-natural ecosystems of Europe; the setting up of the network of biogenetic reserves and; the devising of measures to protect natural habitats, particularly wetlands. A particularly important item recommended the establishment of an ad hoc committee of experts to draft a convention on the conservation of wildlife with particular reference to migratory species and natural habitats. Resolution No. 3 recommended cooperation between Council of Europe bodies and relevant non-governmental international organizations especially in connection with the information campaigns. The second Conference, as the first, set out a very ambitious program. Taken together they set the basis for a long-term plan to create a European ecological planning and management system to conserve and restore habitats and landscapes and to protect wildlife.

Since the Ministerial Conference in 1976, the work program of the European Committee has been devoted to the implementation of the recommendations. In the area of planning and management of the natural environment, work has been carried out on the evaluation and management of landscapes based on ecological principles, protection of ecologically vulnerable regions (mountain regions and the Mediterranean), and environmental impact on natural areas. An important activity included the preparation of a map describing 59 main vegetation units. On protection and management of wildlife, studies in preparation or planned through 1980 include birds, invertebrates, and vascular plants. On protection of natural habitats, work is being carried out on grasslands on chalk, alluvial forests, wetlands and peatlands. A resolution on the rules for a European network of biogenetic reserves was accepted. Work also continued on public information, environmental education and training and the European diploma. A draft convention on the conservation of wildlife and

natural habitats was prepared and ready for submission to the Council of Ministers in 1979.

The decision to include environmental assessment in the work program added a new emphasis, but the work retained the traditional sectoral approach to the natural environment, which views it largely in terms of resource management, conservation and protection. There has been little attempt to carry out the regular work program in the broader context of socio-economic development goals and planning. Some of the teaching and training activities have touched on this theme and a European Symposium for officials responsible for the protected areas in April 1978 had as its central theme the conciliation of social and economic development with the conservation of protected areas.

The Third Conference of Ministers of the Environment on 17-21 September 1979 will probably maintain this direction of work. Two themes of the Conference support on-going work: (1) Report on the implementation of resolutions adopted at earlier conferences and (2) In-school and out-of-school education in the field of ecology with particular reference to adult education. The choice of the theme of compatibility of agriculture and forestry with the conservation of the environment does, however, show an attempt to deal with an issue that necessitates the involvement of several sectors and ministries.

D. The Economic Commission for Europe

An event which gave an important impetus to the environmental work of the ECE was the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which culminated in the signature of the Final Act on 1 August 1975. In the area of the environment, the Final Act constitutes a general agreement among the signatories to cooperate on environmental problems and a general political mandate to cooperate where appropriate within the ECE. Concerning the methods of cooperation, the Act states that "problems relating to the protection and improvement of the environment will be

solved on both a bilateral and a multilateral, including regional and subregional, basis, making full use of existing patterns and forms of cooperation."⁴⁵ Furthermore, it advocates the "inclusion, where appropriate and possible, of the various areas of cooperation into the programmes of work of the U.N. Economic Commission for Europe, supporting such cooperation within the framework of the Commission and of the United Nations Environment Programme, and taking into account the work of other competent, international organizations of which (the signatories) are members."⁴⁶

The Act thus clearly indicates that a great deal of environmental cooperation should be carried out within the ECE, but that it is not the only organization or form of cooperation. In the initial stages of the discussion, the creation of a new body to deal with environment was favored by some Eastern European States. Such a decision, had it been taken, would have greatly decreased the role of the ECE in this field, while its absence is a recognition of ECE's role in all-European cooperation.

The Final Act sets out an extensive list of fields of cooperation. These include control of air pollution; water pollution control and fresh water utilization; protection of the marine environment; land utilization and soils; nature conservation and natural resources; improvement of environmental conditions in areas of human settlements; legal and administrative measures; and fundamental research, monitoring, forecasting, and assessment of environmental changes.⁴⁷

In addition to the emphasis given to the ECE regarding the above general areas of cooperation, the Final Act gives the ECE a specific mandate on two important measures. One is to study the capabilities to predict environmental consequences of economic activities and technological development, or environmental impact assessment. The other proposal is the development of an extensive programme for the monitoring and evaluation of the long-range transport of air pollutants.⁴⁸

Many of the above areas of cooperation reflect work already being carried out by the ECE,

particularly by the Senior Advisers. However, the methods for moving ahead on the two specific measures and for intensifying activities in other areas needed to be developed and approved. The first step to this effect was taken by the Executive Secretary of the ECE in his report on "The Future Activities of the Commission", which contained concrete suggestions for future activities of the Commission "in light of the dynamic evolution of economic relationships within the region and the political will expressed by participating States in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe."⁴⁹ This document was prepared for the 31st Session of the Commission which met in April 1976, but it was also used informally by the Senior Advisers on Environmental Problems at its Fourth Session in February 1976. Responding to the support of the CSCE for intensified environmental activities in the ECE and taking into consideration the existing program of work of the Senior Advisers and the specified provisions in the Final Act, the Executive Secretary set forth six areas of work for the SAEP. The six work areas are prospective trends and problems; current developments and prospects in environmental policies; environmental policy and management issues; resources and waste problems; selected problems of pollution; and statistics, information and norms.⁵⁰

Essentially all the suggestions put forth by the Executive Secretary were adopted by the Working Party on Air Pollution at its sixth session in January 1976 or by the SAEP at its fourth session in February 1976 and were subsequently supported by the Commission at the 31st Session in April 1976. The SAEP thus expanded and somewhat reoriented its work.

A substantial part of the work program between 1977 and 1979 was still devoted to selected problems of pollution. Four activities dealt with pollution in specific industries. Important steps were taken by the Working Party on Air Pollution to implement the decisions of the Helsinki Convention. A Steering Body was established in 1977 to develop a programme for monitoring and evaluation of the long-range transmigration of air pollutants in the ECE region (EMEP) (See p. 153). Other work on pollution includes studies on odours, noise and fine particulates.

The continuing concern to work towards more in-depth cooperation on pollution problems was complemented by a new interest in activities relating socio-economic planning, impact assessment, and interdisciplinary activities relating to environmental policy, planning and management. Seminars on integrated physical socio-economic and environmental planning were held in 1979. The two seminars concentrated on an exchange of information on procedural, legal, institutional and methodological questions. Thus although an effort was made to deal with complex policy issues, it was done within the context of a technical approach to problem solving. There was no attempt to address the causal or conceptual issues that create the need for a reorientation of policies or strategies.

Work on resources and waste problems includes two technical issues: recycling, re-use and recovery of municipal and industrial wastes and low and non-waste technology. A seminar was held on the latter topic in 1976. Work on selected environmental problems of tourism takes an interdisciplinary approach to planning and management in terms of land-use for planning and regional development. Indicators for the evaluation of the quality of the environment is also included in the work program. Summing up, the environmental work in the ECE has become more comprehensive and interdisciplinary; work areas have been expanded to include certain aspects of land-use, energy, resource and waste problems and additional types of pollution control; the nature of the work has shifted towards assessment, management and planning. Most of the work reflects an evolution to the multidimensional phase of the technical approach.

E. The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance

Nothing further can be added at this point about the environment program of the CMEA since the 1976-80 program, which was being prepared in the three-year period up to 1975, is used as a basis for discussion for this study. The majority of the work involves scientific and technological research coordination and cooperation.

F. Some Conclusions

The modifications of the work programs after 1974 indicated a clear change in direction towards a more complete multidimensional phase of the technical approach. The general emphasis became more interdisciplinary and less sectoral. The organizations were moving from the "curative" aspects of pollution control to more "preventative" programs. Although pollution control was still a very important part of the work, it was no longer the only emphasis. The problem areas were expanded. In particular, more attention was given to energy and the conservation and utilization of natural resources. Increasing attention was also being paid to the assessment of ecological, social, and economic trade-offs.

III. Changes in Direction Since 1978

1979 marks the beginning of a third phase in the environmental work of at least three of the organizations being studied -- the European Community, OECD, and ECE. Several factors have influenced this change. The first factor is the difficult economic situation and energy shortages which have underlined the need to reconcile and find complementary solutions to environmental demands, economic growth and employment. The second factor is the continued appreciation of the need for international cooperation and agreement if environmental problems of an international character are to be solved. The third factor, which relates specifically to the ECE, is the positive evolution of East-West détente. The fourth factor is the natural evolution of the environmental work which is leading to the realization that more in depth critiques and policies, which respond to the causes of environmental problems, must form the foundation for viable long-term policies and strategies.

The third phase is characterized by an evolution towards the quality of life phase with a few hints

of a move towards a structural approach. The major events in 1979 which helped crystalize the trend towards the third phase are the Meeting of the Environment Ministers of OECD in May and the publication of the Second Annual State of the Environment Report of the European Communities. The High Level Meeting on Environment of the ECE and the third Conference of Ministers of the Environment of the Council of Europe Countries will also take place in November and September respectively.

A. European Communities

The second "State of the Environment" report of the Communities published in 1979 set out the general intentions of the Commission in the field for the 1980s. The report which reviews and forecasts trends in environmental protection, states that a second generation of Community and national laws and policies which aim at long-term improvement are replacing the ad hoc legislative remedies characterizing the first phase. New policy instruments will be designed not only to clean up, but to prevent, pollution and to promote overall improvement of environmental quality and long-term policies of qualitative economic growth. One preoccupation is the reconciliation of environmental controls with the need for continued economic growth and employment. The report insists that there is no conflict, that environmental measures create employment opportunities and are becoming a major source of economic stimulus. The report states only the general intentions in the field of environment and does not put forth specific proposals for the third program for which discussions will begin in 1980. It does, however, explain several preventive instruments of environmental policy now being prepared. In addition to the draft proposal for a Community concept of environmental impact assessment, feasibility studies to test the concept in concrete cases are being planned with Member States. After preparation and approval of a directive on a common methodology for ecological mapping, it is envisaged that States will begin progressive mapping of their territory. The maps are to contain

information showing the relative suitability of various areas for different purposes (agricultural, recreational, industrial, ecological protection).

An identity card for new chemicals is being prepared which would show potential environmental and health dangers. The proposal obliges importers and manufacturers to study the possible risks of new chemicals before they are used. Another planned directive, designed to avoid accidents such as that in Seveso, Italy in 1978 imposes obligations on industries to take a series of preventative measures during the planning, construction and operational phases.

Another subject which is presently being discussed is the idea of European Conventions on the quality of life. These would be joint agreements between the Community and various manufacturers laying down precise environmental objectives to be attained over a specific time period. The purpose would be to help implement Community directives by establishing more specific agreements on when and where they apply and, when necessary, to incorporate other aspects other than pollution abatement, such as energy and resource conservation.

In sum, most of the current work and that for the next couple of years still concentrates on pollution control and prevention measures of the second program. However, the foundation is being laid and work in certain areas has begun which indicate that the next phase will incorporate more quality of life objectives.

B. Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development

1978 marked the third major shift in the environment program of the OECD in which it began a re-examination of environmental goals and policies in light of the changed economic circumstances. The energy crisis and economic recession have created a radically different context for environmental

policies: the economic prospects for the 1980s indicate lower average economic growth rates, higher unemployment levels and higher inflation rates. These conditions demand energy and resource efficient technologies and growth patterns and closer harmonization of environmental and economic policy objectives. OECD studies have considered that in the absence of stricter pollution control policies and environmental strategies, the economic development of the next seven years could contribute to a significant deterioration of the environment.

Based on past work, OECD has drawn some important conclusions concerning the extent to which economic and environmental goals conflict or can be reconciled. Evidence so far indicates that the economic impact of environmental measures have not posed a conflict of objectives:⁵¹ environmental programs have resulted in a net creation of jobs; the inflationary impact has been moderate (0.2-0.3 percent annually); the impact of environmental policies on the rate of growth has been neutral or slightly positive; environmental policies have contributed positively to productivity; and their effect on international trade and capital flows has not been important. The complementarity of environmental and economic policies is further supported by the aim of the former to conserve natural resources.

As the above discussion illustrates, not only has the context for considering environmental policies changed, but the appreciation of their contribution to economic development has led to the replacement of a defensive to a positive attitude towards their role and place in the development scheme. Not only are economic development and environmental protection compatible, they are interdependent and mutually reinforcing. Environment is no longer an intruder, but an accepted aspect of development policy. The ability to take stock of the achievements of the past decade in controlling pollution and improving the environment, which are set out in the first State of the Environment Report, indicates a maturity in the work of the OECD. This is complimented by a willingness to reflect on longer-term perspectives for the future.

It is in the above context that the Ministers for Environment of the OECD countries met for the first time since 1974 in May 1979. The Ministers laid the foundation for policies and cooperative programs for the coming decade. They called for strengthened environmental measures for the 1980s, which should be designed for their economic efficiency and cost effectiveness, focus on preventative rather than remedial action and promote qualitative growth.⁵²

The Ministers adopted a declaration on anticipatory environmental policies which called for environmental considerations to be integrated at an early stage in all major decisions having significant impacts on the environment.⁵³ They also adopted a recommendation on coal⁵⁴ and the environment, the contents of which are significant in the context of the current economic situation. It recommended that in elaborating policies for expanded coal use, member countries integrate their environmental and energy policies and improve environmental protection and control measures. It called for an assessment of the environmental and social consequences of a large scale introduction of coal and set out environmental guidelines for the development of coal policies, which include measures to manage environmental impacts at each stage of the resource cycle.

The Environment Ministers confirmed and supported the evaluation of the environment work of the OECD. The new director of the Environment Division has referred to the shift in scope and focus as a move from the first to the second environment debate. The first was concerned with pollution and reactive and curative policies. The second emphasizes policies that incorporate a more forward-looking approach to environmental protection and an anticipatory approach to environment management.

Such policies embrace not only pollution control, but also resource conservation, the provision of amenities and measures to improve the quality of life. They can include alternative patterns of growth and consumption and changing life styles. Anticipatory policies are formulated in a long-term

perspective and emphasize positive planning to create environmental benefits. Furthermore, they require detection of emerging problems in energy, industrial and product developments and the integration of environmental, regional, industrial, resource and urban development policies.

The second debate reflects an awareness of the interdependence among environmental quality, economic growth, product control and energy and resource management. These policy areas are seen as mutually reinforcing rather than in conflict. It reflects a concern with the role of participation in the decision-making process. In addition, it is recognized that a new analysis is needed which places environment and economic growth in a broader context of socio-economic development.

This new approach to environment has lead to a restructuring and reorientation of the Environment program according to four main themes.

1. Environment and Economics

In the context of anticipatory environmental policies and economic perspectives, it is proposed to take a new look at the cost of environmental measures on employment, inflation, productivity and balance of payments in order to reassess the compatibility of planned environmental policies with new economic constraints and the role of environmental investments in sustaining economic growth. The benefits of environmental policies are also being evaluated. The goal is to identify better means to integrate environmental and other policies.

2. Natural Resources and the Environment

In this area the shift to anticipatory policies implies a shift of work from the management of residuals to measures that reduce unnecessary demand for resources and that encourage conservation

and to methods of production, extraction and distribution that will reduce environmental impacts. Specifically, this implies a move from recycling of wastes to examination of product durability and waste prevention and a shift from the management of water quality to prevention of water pollution. In the field of energy, the Ministers asked for a comparative assessment of the environmental implications of all energy sources, including nuclear.

3. Chemicals and the Environment

This area is concerned with both chemicals already in use and new chemicals. In relation to the former, work continues on the development of effective strategies to control the release of chemicals and to ensure safe disposal of hazardous wastes. In relation to the latter, a new chemical program (see p. 148) was adopted in 1978⁵⁵ which aims at harmonizing procedures for pre-market testing and at devising strategies for control action. The work covers environmental dimensions of pre-market development, production, marketing, distribution, use and disposal of chemicals. A major focus is on the economic and trade implications of expanded controls of toxic chemicals. The significance of the new thrust is that not only is the work anticipatory in nature, it aims at devising common policies from the development stage through to use and final disposal.

4. Urban Affairs

A new program in this area is being worked out for a three year period starting in 1980 in which the major focus will be on the inter-relationships between urban problems and economic conditions. A new ad hoc Group on Urban Problems is being created to replace the existing Group on Urban Environment. The new arrangement, where the ad hoc group will report directly to the Council and not to the Environment Committee, aims at getting high level representation from urban

departments which are very often separate from environmental ministries. Proposed themes of the new program are policies to deal with problems arising from urban decline and urban growth, urban implications of structural and cyclical economic change, harmonization between urban policies and regional economic development policies, the role of central governments in implementing urban policies, and urban public finance management policies. The orientation of urban work is shifting from policies to improve the physical environment within cities to the social and economic aspects of urban planning.

C. Economic Commission for Europe

Two new activities indicate a substantive change in direction in the ECE. A UNEP/ECE seminar on alternate patterns of development and lifestyles is planned for late 1979. It was initiated and partly financed by UNEP in order to elicit an input from the ECE (and other Regional Commissions through similar seminars) for the New International Development Strategy. The seminar is an important departure from previous work. For the first time the topic itself is directed towards questions of structural change. The objectives of the seminar are: (1) to enable ECE governments to discuss problems and opportunities for long-term compatibility between economic and social development and improvement in environmental quality, and to explore to what extent such solutions may require change in present development patterns and lifestyles; (2) to exchange views and experiences on attempts to elaborate long-term perspectives, strategies and approaches for achieving socio-economic and environmental objectives and on practical measures and concrete actions to implement the new approaches; and (3) to stimulate a continuing effort in the ECE region, and in individual countries, to formulate policies and programs for environmentally-sound development and to that end to map out priority areas for national action and international cooperation to promote alternative patterns of development and lifestyles.

Specific topics of discussion include (1) patterns of development and international responsibility, (2) lifestyles, consumption patterns, technological options and resource profiles: socio-economic and environmental dimensions of development, (3) patterns of rural development: food systems and the management of national resources, (4) patterns of urban development and transportation structures: impact on environmental quality and lifestyles, (5) institutional aspects of alternative development patterns: systems of incentives, participatory planning and management, communication and education.

The only other recent change in subject matter is the inclusion by the Senior Advisers in 1979 of the area of flora and fauna.

In sum, the third phase continues the logical evolution of the approaches to environment problems as set out in Chapter One. The new programs refine the multidimensional phase of the technical approach, introduce many aspects of the quality of life phase and give a few indications of a move towards a structure approach.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Resolution of the OECD Council at its 226th Meeting on 22 July 1970 Terminating the Mandate of the Committee for Research Co-operation and Establishing an Environment Committee," OECD Document, C(70)135.

2. "Programme of Action of the European Communities on the Environment" (Declaration of the Council of the European Communities and of the Representatives of the Governments of the Member States meeting in the Council), p.20.

3. Ibid., p. 18.

4. OECD at Work for the Environment, 2nd Edition, OECD publication, no. 32.009, 1973, p. 23.

5. ECE Decision B(XXIX), 29 April 1974.

6. ECE Decision K(XXIV), 9-23 April 1969, "Problems of Air Pollution," in Compendium of Resolutions, p. 220.

7. "Body on Water Resources and Water Pollution Control Problems," ECE document, E/ECE/682, 26 February 1968, Annex V.

8. "Information on Cooperation of CMEA Member Countries in the Field of Conservation and Improvement of the Environment and the Related Rational Use of Natural Resources," prepared by the CMEA Secretariat for the Second Session of Senior Advisers to ECE Governments on Environmental Problems, February 1974, pp. 10-11.

9. "Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe," 1 August 1975. The Act advocates "the inclusion where appropriate and possible, of the various areas of cooperation into the programmes of work of the United Nations Economic Committee for Europe." p. 58.

10. "Information on Cooperation Among the CMEA Member Countries in Environmental Protection and Improvement," 1975, Appendix, pp. 3-5.

11. Ibid., pp. 13-15.

12. "Programme of Action of the European Communities on the Environment," pp. 38-41.

13. "Programme of Action of the European Communities on the Environment," pp. 13-14.

14. "Treaty Establishing the European Atomic Energy Community," (March 25, 1957), Chapter III, Articles 30-39, in Treaties Establishing the European Communities, Luxembourg, European Communities publication, 1973, p. 507.

15. "Declaration of the Council of the European Communities and of the Representatives of the Governments of the Member States Meeting in the Council of 22 November 1973 on the Programme of Action of the European Communities on the Environment," Official Journal of the European Communities, Vol. 16, No. C 112, 20 December 1973, p. 5.

16. OECD at Work for Environment.

17. ECE Decision B(XXIX).

18. "Information on Cooperation among the CMEA Member Countries in Environmental Protection and Improvement," 1975, Appendix, p. 2.

19. ECE Decision B(XXIX).

20. Ibid.

21. "Programme of Action of the European Communities on the Environment."

22. "Resolution of the OECD Council Terminating the Mandate of the Committee for Research, Co-operation and Establishing an Environment Committee," OECD document, C(70)135.

23. "Mandates of the Sector and ad hoc Groups of the Environment Committee," OECD document for general distribution, Environment Directorate, 30 July 1971.

24. Resolution (62)31, "Nature Conservation," adopted by the Ministers' Deputies of the Council of Europe on 5th December 1962.

25. "Conclusions and Resolutions of the European Ministerial Conference on the Environment," Vienna, 28-30 March 1973, Council of Europe document, CM.ENV.(73)6, 5 April 1975.

26. "Information on Cooperation among the CMEA Member Countries in Environmental Protection and Improvement," 1975, Appendix.

27. Van Schalk, R. J., "The Impact of the Economic Situation on Environmental Policies," OECD Observer, No. 79, January-February 1976, p. 25.

28. Bulletin of the European Communities, No. 10, October 1975, Luxembourg, Office of Official Publications of the European Communities, pp. 16-18.

29. Bulletin of the European Communities, No. 6, June 1976, the whole issue is devoted to the Environment Programme 1977-81.

30. Ibid.

31. The debate over the national or international nature of the problem reflected the political debate over the competency of the Communities to deal with environment. See p. 265.

32. Ibid., pp. 13-14.

33. Ibid., pp. 15-19.

34. Ibid., pp. 21-23.

35. Ibid., pp. 25-26.

36. Ibid., pp. 30-33.

37. Ibid., pp. 35-40.

38. Ibid., pp. 41-42.

39. Ibid., pp. 50-51.

40. See p. 147 , "State of the Environment: First Report," Commission of the European Communities, Brussels, 1977 and Second Report, 1979.

41. "OECD Environment Committee at Ministerial Level," OECD Press Communiqué, Press/A(74)47, 14 November 1974.

42. "Resolution of the Council Amending the Mandate of the Environment Committee."

43. "Conclusions of the Second European Ministerial Conference on the Environment," (23-24 March 1976), Council of Europe document, CE/Nat (76) 5, 13 April 1976.

44. A fourth resolution concerns the convening of a third ministerial conference on the environment.

45. "Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe," p. 57.

46. Ibid., p. 58.

47. Ibid., pp. 57-58.

48. Ibid., p. 58.

49. "The Future Activities of the Commission," Report by the Executive Secretary for the 31st Session of the Commission, ECE document, E/ECE/900, p. 2.

50. Ibid., Annex E.

51. "OECD Environment Committee at Ministerial Level", OECD Press Communiqué, 8 May 1979, Press/A(79)23, p. 2.

52. Ibid., p. 3.

53. Ibid., pp. 6-7.

54. "Recommendation of the Council on Coal and the Environment," 8 May 1979, doc. C(79)117.

55. "Decision of the Council Concerning a Special Programme on the Control of Chemicals," 21 September 1978, doc. C(78)137(final).

CHAPTER FOUR

FUNCTIONS

A third theme of this study concerns the role of intergovernmental organizations in terms of the functions they perform. First, the original environmental mandates will be analyzed. Second, the functions and activities of the organizations will be examined for the six year period 1970-1975. Finally, changes in cooperative action since 1976 will be described.

I. Original Mandates

The goals of cooperative action as set out in the original mandates can be divided into nine categories as illustrated in Table 2. (See p. 92).

1. The first is to act as a forum for the exchange of information. This is a traditional goal of intergovernmental organizations. It is one of the most important tasks of the ECE Senior Advisers, whose terms of reference state that it should provide "a forum for an exchange of experience and information, for discussion and consultation."¹ One of the original objectives of the OECD Sector Groups was the exchange of practical information between national administrators responsible for specific sectors. This is also an important part of the activities of the Council of Europe and CMEA. Although the exchange of information is a result of much of the work of the

TABLE 2
SPECIFIC GOALS AND TYPES OF ACTION

	C OF E	OECD	ECE	EC	CMEA
1. Forum for exchange of information	X	X	X	+	X
2. Study problems and review policies to deal with them	X	X	X	X	X
3. Make policy assessments		X		X	
4. Develop common policy approaches and methods of action	X	X	X	X	X
5. Elaboration and determination of standards, norms, criteria, guidelines and unified measurement methods	+	+	+	X	X
6. Research operation and coordination		+		X	X
7. Influence public opinion	X				
8. Identify emerging problems		X			
9. Formal and informal coordination of policy	X	X	X	X	+

X = important emphasis of work

+ = part of work

European Communities, it is not one of its principal objectives.

2. A second type of cooperation is the study of problems and the review of policies to deal with them. The OECD Environment Committee and its subgroups were responsible for investigating, defining and maintaining an overview of issues as well as reviewing and confronting² actions taken or proposed in member countries. The ECE Senior Advisers were to "identify and examine selected problems of environmental policy"³ and to examine their implications.

Although the CMEA Program of Cooperation in the Field of Environmental Protection stresses the study of problems, it does not mention the review of policies. Both are integral parts of the activities of the European Communities and the Council of Europe.

3. Only the OECD and the European Communities were actually asked to make policy assessments or appraisals. Both the Sector and ad hoc Groups of the OECD Environment Committee are to propose policies to make assessments of alternative proposals.

4. The development of common policy approaches, methods of action, and the standardization of data are important objectives of all the organizations. Those actions specifically spelled out in the mandates are the following. The OECD Sub-Committee of Economic Experts was to extract general principles and develop analytical tools for incorporating economic factors in the analysis of environmental problems. The CMEA envisages the development of a methodology for the socialist planning of environmental management.⁴

5. Although the elaboration and determination of standards, norms, criteria, guidelines, and unified measurement methods are in part objects of the work programs of all organizations, the mandates of the European Communities and CMEA specify actions to be carried out. Targets of the Community environment program include the determination of health criteria for certain pollutants; laying down health (air and water quality) standards for the above pollutants; defining water quality objectives; standardizing or harmonizing measurement methods and instruments; and

harmonizing the specifications of, and laying down standards for, polluting products.⁵ The CMEA program envisages working out criteria for improving environmental management systems; mathematical models for managing ecosystems; unified methods for evaluating the effects of different types of pollutants; water pollution standards and guidelines on environmental protection for geological explorations; and methods for the protection of underground waters from pollution and depletion.⁷

6. CMEA's principal concern is research cooperation and coordination. The subjects of this research are the study of basic environmental problems; elaboration of methods and methodologies; the elaboration and determination of standards, norms, criteria and guidelines; and the development of technological processes, equipment, and control of measuring instruments (CMEA is the only organization with the latter activities). Research of a theoretical and investigative nature is carried out by national scientific institutions. Research is also an important, although not primary, activity of the European Communities. The environment program calls for research work to "be carried out through the coordination of relevant national activities or by way of community projects undertaken within the Multiannual Research Programme"⁸ by the Joint Research Center on nine technical subjects.

The mandate of the OECD Environment Committee does not mention research cooperation. In fact, there was an intentional change of emphasis from the technical research studies of the Committee for Research Cooperation to more practical, solution-oriented work. This type of activity, however, was not precluded. One of the functions of the Air and Water Management Sector Groups is to develop an adequate basis of information on which to base administrative action by member governments, including, if necessary, the required international research cooperation. Research cooperation was not mentioned in the mandates of either the ECE Senior Advisers or the European Committee for Conservation of Nature of the Council of Europe.

7. The Council of Europe is the only organization which has a major goal of influencing public opinion.

The European Communities have several projects to promote public awareness.

8. Although the identification of emerging problems can be generally understood to be included in the exchange of information, this was spelled out as one of the specific responsibilities of the OECD Sector Groups.

9. One of the goals of the environmental activities of all the organizations is the formal or informal coordination of policy.

Guided by the objective that "major aspects of environmental policy in individual countries must no longer be planned and implemented in isolation," one of the fundamental principles of the Communities' environmental policy is the coordination and harmonization of national policies.⁹ This coordination is to be effected generally through the adoption of formal legal measures. The Council of Europe also emphasizes the working out of legal instruments addressed to member governments for the solution to specific problems with the aim of harmonizing legislation.

The original mandate of the OECD Environment Committee included the proposal of solutions and concerted approaches to environmental problems. Both the Sector and ad hoc Groups were expected to make proposals for agreement on specific problems. The mandate of the Environment Committee adopted in 1975 stated explicitly that it is responsible for "encouraging whenever appropriate, the harmonization of environmental policies among member countries."¹⁰ The terms of reference of the ECE Senior Advisers state that this body should "promote the development of inter-governmental, including sub-regional agreements and other forms of international arrangements dealing with environmental problems of concern to ECE governments."¹¹ This goal is not stated explicitly in the tasks of the CMEA Council for Environmental Protection or in the CMEA environmental program, but several activities of the latter include the unification of methods and the development of recommendations.

The coordination of national policies is an important goal of the activities of the ECE, OECD,

Council of Europe, and CMEA. Their legal basis of action, which generally includes unanimously adopted recommendations and resolutions,¹² does not, however, carry the same formal legal weight as the directives and decisions of the European Communities. For this reason the traditional international organizations often place more emphasis on other methods by which to achieve the same goal. These include influencing of policy through consultations; exchange of information; defining and investigation of problems; and the study, evaluation and assessment of policies.

The OECD is the only organization which has explicitly modified the goals of its cooperative action. Discussions at the 14th Session of the Environment Committee in March 1975 concluded that past work, although academically very sound did not always help national civil servants who are pressed for answers to specific problems. The general feeling was that substantially more effort should be devoted to assessment of policies and to assisting member countries in the implementation of recommendations. Therefore, it was decided that the efforts devoted to the four objectives should change in the following direction. Information exchange should be reduced from 75% to 40% of the work. Assessment of policies should increase from 10% to 30%, and implementation of recommendations from 5% to 20%. Negotiation of agreements should remain stable at 10%.

II. Functions: Cooperative Action 1970-75

The environmental work of the organizations will be examined next. To facilitate this undertaking a matrix has been developed which plots the level or type of work (referred to as the scale of tasks) against twenty-two problem areas. (See Tables 3-9, pp. 100-113.) The scale of tasks is an essential analytical tool of this study. Its purpose is three-fold. First, it identifies types of international tasks which could be performed to cope with environmental problems. Second, it serves as a tool to

identify at what level the work or organizations is concentrated. Finally, it will be used to identify the capacities of each organization and to draw general conclusions about the actual and potential roles of these organizations in dealing with environmental problems.

The scale includes traditional tasks of IGOs which might be performed in an attempt to find solutions to environmental problems. The inclusion of a task in the list in no way infers that international machinery exists to perform it, that States are ready and willing to have it undertaken by international bodies, or that the task should be carried out by intergovernmental bodies.

The scale is based on a behavioral description of the tasks and their formal content. The tasks range from those requiring a minimum level of intergovernmental cooperation to those of joint policy formation. Obviously, it is impossible to establish a perfect scale, but this one serves as a general point of reference and as an analytical tool. It is not meant to be a foolproof method for understanding the work of organizations. The level of cooperation cannot always be equated with the significance of the cooperation, which must be evaluated case by case. For example, one organization's willingness to exchange information could be more meaningful than another's declaration of principles. The relative importance of each problem must also be evaluated. Moreover, the nature of each organization is different, which may either pre-empt or favor certain types of activity.

The environmental activities of each organization for the six-year period from January 1970 to December 1975 have been charted on separate matrices, (Tables 3-7). These matrices permit identification of the problems and the levels at which they are being treated. Two composite matrices have also been prepared. One gives the total number of activities per task for each organization, (Table 8). The second shows which organizations carry out what tasks in what areas, (Table 9). The tables generally indicate the concentration and lack of activities, but the substantive categories are too broad for overlapping or duplication to be identified. An

in-depth analysis of each project would be necessary for this.

An attempt has been made to quantify the different types of activities. In general, the figures indicate the number of each type of activity that was completed before the end of 1975, i.e., the number of seminars, publications, courses, methodologies, technical processes, information systems, or policy instruments. The quantification of studies presents a problem because studies are even less comparable than other types of cooperation due to their varying length and quality. Information concerning the number of pages produced was not easily accessible, and would be no indication of the quality of the work. So the number of studies has been used. Secretariat notes, short papers, and national documentation are not included.

Research cooperation in the European Communities is designated by a check because simply quantification of the extensive research was not possible. All the activities of the CMEA are indicated with a check because detailed information was not available. Areas of cooperation for the period 1975-80 foreseen in the Expanded Program of Cooperation in the Field of Environmental Protection are also shown in brackets because this is the first comprehensive environmental program of the CMEA. In general the number of policy instruments refers only to those adopted before the end of 1975, although those proposed, or in the final stages of approval, at this time are included in parentheses. Information in brackets is also given on the legal instruments adopted in the Council of Europe before 1970.

Although the simplified type of quantification attempted in these matrices is subject to certain limitations, the figures are nevertheless indicative of the amount of effort being devoted to each type of activity. Furthermore, the description of the activities according to the seven tasks which follows is intended to clarify the nature and amount of work accomplished.

Before describing the activities of the organizations, we will briefly summarize the substantive areas treated during the period 1970-1975.

The majority of the work of the Council of Europe concerned problems related to the natural environment, although other work was carried out on education and training; water and air pollution; pesticides; and urban problems with particular reference to monuments and sites.

The environmental work of the ECE dealt with several broad areas -- water, air, noise and waste pollution and development planning -- and with several specific economic sectors -- urban problems; agriculture; energy; electric power; forestry; the chemical, coal and steel industries; and inland transportation.

The work of the OECD Environment Committee centered on the economic and trade implications of environmental policies. The original four main priority areas of concern were air and water pollution, economic and management problems, chemicals in the environment, and urban problems. Energy became a priority area in 1975.

Action of the European Communities Environment Program concentrated on the reduction of water, air and noise pollution and wastes. Attention was first given to an evaluation of the risks to human health and then to measures relating to certain products, industrial sectors, energy production, and the economic aspects of anti-pollution measures. Action to improve the environment dealt with agriculture and forestry, depletion of natural resources, certain urban problems, the working environment, and education.

Between 1970 and 1974 environment work in the CMEA related to water, air, and noise pollution; and to waste utilization, disposal, purification, and contamination in relation to the following industries: electric power, non-ferrous and ferrous metallurgy, chemical, oil and gas, coal, and peaceful use of atomic power. Only in 1975 did it begin to carry out the activities of the Expanded Program of Cooperation in the Field of Environmental Protection.

TABLE 3: Environmental
Activities of the
Council of Europe
1970-75

TABLE 3: Environmental Activities of the Council of Europe 1970-75																							
AREAS OF ACTIVITY		GENERAL PROBLEMS										PROBLEMS ARISING FROM SPECIFIC INDUSTRIES AND ACTIVITIES							OTHER ASPECTS				
SCALE OF TASKS		ENVIRONMENT 1/	TRANSPORTATION	AIR	WATER	NOISE	WASTE	URBAN PROBLEMS	FOOD AND HEALTH	CONSERVATION OF NATURE AND SOIL 2/	AGRICULTURE AND PESTICIDES	CHEMICAL	COAL AND STEEL	PULP AND PAPER	METALLURGY	TRANSPORTATION 4/	TOURISM & RECREATION	ECONOMIC AND TRADE EFFECTS	TECHNOLOGY	EDUCATION AND TRAINING	TERMINOLOGY	STATISTICS	
1. COLLECTION, EXCHANGE & ANALYSIS OF INFORMATION AND DATA	Courses			15	3			2	20								2			6	3		
	Studies, inventories & surveys			15	2			2	19														
	Publications, manuals	+ 2		15	2			2	19											2			
	Meetings (days)	410	60	16	24			110	90	36							2			90			
	Seminars, symposia, conferences	3		2	3			4	2	1							1			2			
2. DEVELOPMENT OF METHODS & RESEARCH																							
	Development of methodology																						
	Elaboration of criteria				1	0		13	1	4											1	1	
	Elaboration of guidelines & specific principles				1																		
	Elaboration of standards																						
	Development of measurement techniques																						
	Development of technical processes																						
	Research coordination & cooperation																						
																						</	

TABLE 3 continued

[illegible]

() = activities before 1970, this is done for Tables 4.5
 * 4/ days were held within the Conference on Local Authorities
 & regional municipalities

1/ activities of a general or multisectoral nature
 2/ incl. rational utilization of natural resources
 3/ incl. nuclear energy, nuclear safety, electric power, etc.
 4/ incl. pollution by cars and airplanes

TABLE 4: Environment al
Activities of the
OECD, 1970-1975

AREAS OF ACTIVITY		GENERAL PROBLEMS										PROBLEMS ARISING FROM SPECIFIC INDUSTRIES AND ACTIVITIES							OTHER ASPECTS					TOTAL
		ENVIRONMENT 1/	POLLUTION	AIR	WATER	NOISE	WASTE	URBAN PROBLEMS	FOOD AND HEALTH	CONSERVATION OF NATURE AND SOIL 2/	AGRICULTURE AND FISHERIES	ENERGY 3/	CHEMICAL	COAL AND STEEL	PULP AND PAPER	TELECOMMUNICATIONS	TRANSPORTATION 4/	TOURISM & RECREATION	ECONOMIC AND TRADE EFFECTS	TECHNOLOGY	EDUCATION AND TRAINING	TERMINOLOGY	STATISTICS	
SCALE OF TASKS	1. COLLECTION, EXCHANGE & ANALYSIS OF INFORMATION AND DATA																							
	Courses																							
	Studies, inventories & surveys	18	17	20	3	1	6				20	7		2			12	30						136
	Publications, manuals	2	2	3	1		3					6		1			6	3						26
	Meetings (days)	78	31	130	6	5	49				9	35		15				62						585
	Seminars, symposia, conferences	1					1											3						5
2. DEVELOPMENT OF METHODS & RESEARCH	Development of methodology		1	4								1						2						8
	Elaboration of criteria																							
	Elaboration of guidelines & specific principles	1	2	1								2						2						8
	Elaboration of standards																							
	Development of measurement techniques																							
	Development of technical processes																							
	Research coordination & cooperation		1	1								1												3

TABLE 5: Environmental
Activities of the ECE
1970-1975

1970-1975		AND ACTIVITIES																TOTAL					
AREAS OF ACTIVITY		ENVIRONMENT 1/	TRANSPORTATION	AIR	WATER	WASTE	URBAN PROBLEMS	FOOD AND HEALTH	CONSERVATION OF FAUNA AND FLORA 2/	AGRICULTURE AND FISHERIES	ENERGY 3/	CHEMICAL	COAL AND STEEL	PULP AND PAPER	METALLURGY	TRANSPORTATION 4/	TOURISM & RECREATION	ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL EFFECTS	TECHNOLOGY	EDUCATION AND TRAINING	TERMINOLOGY	STATISTICS	
SCALE OF TASKS																							
1.	COLLECTION, EXCHANGE & ANALYSIS OF INFORMATION AND DATA																						
	Courses		1	1	6	2				4	18	3	6						1	1		4	49
	Studies, inventories & surveys	2		1	1		2				1		1								1	7	
	Publications, manuals																						
	Meetings (days)	33	49	39	13	34		2	6	14	3	8			43	3	3	4	4	1	5	235	
2.	Seminars, symposia, conferences	2	4	2	1	6		1	2	1	1	1			1	1	1	1	2		1	26	
	DEVELOPMENT OF METHODS & RESEARCH																						
	Development of methodology		1																		1	2	
	Elaboration of criteria																						
	Elaboration of guidelines & specific principles						1															1	
	Elaboration of standards		2	1	1																	4	
	Development of measure- ment techniques																						
	Development of tech- nical processes																						
	Research coordination & cooperation						1															1	

TABLE 5 continued

[illegible]

- 1/ activities of a general or multisectoral nature
- 2/ incl. rational utilization of natural resources
- 3/ incl. nuclear energy, nuclear safety, electric power
- 4/ incl. pollution by cars and airplanes

* refers to official U.N. Publications
- =second reference
+ included under air, water and noise

TABLE 6: Environmental Activities of the European Communities, 1970-1975

TABLE 6: Environmental Activities of the European Communities, 1970-1975		GENERAL PROBLEMS										PROBLEMS ARISING FROM SPECIFIC INDUSTRIES AND ACTIVITIES										OTHER ASPECTS					TOTAL
AREAS OF ACTIVITY		TRANSFORMATION 1/	AIR	WATER	NOISE	WASTE	URBAN PROBLEMS	FOOD AND HEALTH	CONSERVATION OF NATURE AND SOIL 2/	AGRICULTURE AND PESTICIDES	ENERGY 3/	CHEMICAL	COAL AND STEEL	PULP AND PAPER	TELECOMMUNICATIONS	TRANSPORTATION 4/	TOURISM & RECREATION	ECONOMIC EFFECTS	TECHNOLOGY	EDUCATION AND TRAINING	TERMINOLOGY	STATISTICS					
SCALE OF TASKS	1. COLLECTION, EXCHANGE & ANALYSIS OF INFORMATION AND DATA																										
	Courses	15	3	15	3	14	1	3	6	1	4	5			1		5										
	Studies, inventories & surveys																										
	Publications, manuals	4									1	1															
	Meetings (days) 4	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x										
	Seminars, symposia, conferences	2	1	3			2			1	1	1	1														
2. DEVELOPMENT OF METHODS & RESEARCH	Development of methodology			20				0																			
	Elaboration of criteria	1	40	1	1	30			10			0							1								
	Elaboration of guidelines & specific principles		20	10	40		0				x	x															
	Elaboration of standards			1																							
	Development of measurement techniques																										
	Development of technical processes																										
	Research coordination**	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x												
	& cooperation																										

TABLE 6 continued

[illegible]

* the precise number of meetings was not available

** the checks indicate areas of research

* * the entries under Tasks 2, 3 and 6 are all subject of and referred to in informal or formal coordination of policy

* radiation protection standards adopted under Euratom, not included in total

† not a part of the environment program as such, but concern the environment.

0 circled references are proposals not yet approved by the Council

TABLE 7 : Environmental Activities of the CREA, 1970-1975

TABLE 7 : Environmental Activities of the CMEA, 1970-1975		GENERAL PROBLEMS										PROBLEMS ARISING FROM SPECIFIC INDUSTRIES AND ACTIVITIES										OTHER ASPECTS				TOTAL
AREAS OF ACTIVITY	ENVIRONMENT 1/	TRANSPORTATION POLLUTION	AIR	WATER	NOISE	WASTE	URBAN PROBLEMS	FOOD AND HEALTH	CONSERVATION OF NATURE AND SOIL 2/	AGRICULTURE AND PESTICIDES	ENERGY 3/	CHEMICAL	COAL AND STEEL	PULP AND PAPER	METALLURGY	TRANSPORTATION 4/	TOURISM & RECREATION	ECONOMIC AND TRADE EFFECTS	TECHNOLOGY	EDUCATION AND TRAINING	TERMINOLOGY	STATISTICS				
SCALE OF TASKS	1. COLLECTION, EXCHANGE & ANALYSIS OF INFORMATION AND DATA																									
	Courses		•	•	•	•	•	•	•				•									•				
	Studies, inventories & surveys	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•																	
	Publications, manuals	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•																	
	Meetings (days)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•																	
	Seminars, symposia, conferences	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•																	
2. DEVELOPMENT OF METHODS & RESEARCH	Development of methodology	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•			•		•							
	Elaboration of criteria	•	•	•	•	•	•		•	•	•						•									
	Elaboration of guidelines & specific principles	•	•	•	•		•		•		•						•									
	Elaboration of standards		•	•	•																					
	Development of measurement techniques		•	•	•			•				•								•						
	Development of technical processes	•	•	•	•	•					•	•	•	•			•	•		•						
	Research coordination & cooperation	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•			•						
			•	•	•	•	•																			
			•	•	•	•	•																			
			•	•	•	•	•																			

TABLE 8: Summary of Environmental Activities of all
Five Organizations 1970-1975

AREAS OF ACTIVITY /	TOTAL OF TASKS					CANADA
	C	O	C	E	S	
1. COLLECTION, EXCHANGE & ANALYSIS OF INFORMATION						
ALL DATA						
Courses	6					X
Studies, inventories & surveys	45	136		49	111	X
Publications, manuals	42	26		7	6	X
Meetings (days)	530	585		335	320	X
Seminars, symposia, conferences	17	5		26	11	X
2. DEVELOPMENT OF METHODS						
2.1 RESEARCH						
Development of technology	9	8		2	4	X
Elaboration of criteria	1				16	X
Elaboration of guidelines & specific principles		8		1	13	X
Elaboration of standards				4	1	X
Development of measurement techniques						X
Development of technical processes						X
Research coordination & cooperation		3		1		X

TABLE 9 continued

[illegible]

The numbers indicate that the designated body had activities in this area during the period 1970-75.

1 = Council of Europe 2 = OECD 3 = ECE
4 = European Communities 5 = CMEA

- 1/ activities of a general or multisectoral nature
- 2/ incl. rational utilization of natural resources
- 3/ incl. nuclear energy, nuclear safety, electric power, etc.
- 4/ incl. pollution by cars and airplanes

A. Task One: Collection, Exchange, and Analysis of Information and Data

National information, data, experiences, and research results can be exchanged either by written documentation or through personal contacts. Meetings, seminars, symposia, and courses generally combine both written and personal exchanges. The analysis of existing information, includes three different types of activities. The first is a review of the current status of the problem, its nature, causes and effects. Data and information are often collected and compiled in the form of inventories and surveys. The second is policy reviews, which present and discuss national policies in view of elucidating possible solutions. The third is policy assessment, or an attempt to evaluate the effectiveness and suitability of a few alternatives. The exchange and analysis of information are sometimes aimed simply at helping governments find solutions to their problems. It is often intended that through mutual understanding policies will be gradually and informally harmonized. When the assessments result in very specific proposals, these can be used as a basis for recommendations.

1. Studies

The preparation of studies is an important activity within each organization. Between 1970 and 1975 approximately 136 studies were carried out by the OECD, 76 by the European Community, 49 by the ECE, and 45 by the Council of Europe.

In the Council of Europe studies are undertaken in order to pave the way for drawing up legal instruments. They are based upon work already finished or under way in other international organizations or at the national level. There is no original research. It is felt that there are other international organizations with structures better equipped for this type of work. The studies include existing knowledge, analyses of the situation, and recommendations for solutions. The latter serve as a basis for legal instruments.

All the studies of the European Commission are meant to produce directives. They assemble the necessary background information including the technical and economic aspects of the report that will accompany the draft proposal, and in sum facilitate the elaboration of Community Action. Most of the studies are done under contract, the Commission being free to engage the most qualified experts available. 3.3 million units of account¹³ were budgeted for studies for the three-year period 1973-1975. Although the funds for studies are fully adequate, research as such is not in itself an objective of the environment program. It is therefore the policy of the Commission to make maximum use of studies done in other contexts, especially in the OECD. EC studies are restricted and are not published although they can be obtained through a government of a member State.

Most of the work of the ECE on environmental problems falls within Task One. Its studies, which vary in length and comprehensiveness, generally review and analyze the problem at hand and review policies and methods to deal with it. A study on fine particles for example, included an assessment of the magnitude and character of the problem; a review of the state of existing knowledge, an evaluation of existing technologies for the measurement and control of pollution; identification of existing regulations; and identification of needs for further research.¹⁴ The studies are usually made by secretariat members, government rapporteurs, or task forces, although from time to time an outside consultant is engaged. In principle, they serve as a basis for discussion at meetings or are the result of a number of discussions and a series of smaller papers. Their role, like the meetings, is to circulate ideas and knowledge. The documentation for meetings also includes many secretariat notes and papers which provide background information on specific problems and form the basis for future work.

Both the studies and the meetings of the OECD Environment Committee subgroups have been oriented towards fulfilling three objectives of the program: information exchange, policy assessment, and preparation for the negotiation of agreements. The Sector and *ad hoc* Groups have concentrated on examining policies, identifying similarities, and exposing

differences. Work has centered on reviews of specific policies, based on information and case studies provided by the countries on their policies. The main task of the groups has been to provide guidance to governments and to identify alternative strategies and policy instruments as well as their implications in the light of available experience of member countries. Assessment of the feasibility and effectiveness of policy options has sometimes followed their analysis.

In addition to the CMEA studies which fall within the context of research projects, reports are prepared on such topics as the national legal system, existing international norms, and the role of public organizations of the CMEA countries (relative to an area of environmental concern). Joint forecasts are also prepared anticipating problems and work necessary to find their solution.

2. Publications

The Council of Europe and the CMEA are the only organizations which issue regular publications. Those of the Council of Europe are directed towards the general public. (See Task Three). In addition, almost all the studies of the Council of Europe are published, some in both technical and popular versions.

Since 1967 the CMEA has published bi-annually a Bulletin on Water Economy, which disseminates information on research programs and on other CMEA work. All the results of the scientific and technical research carried out under the auspices of CMEA are published. The Coordination Centers generally take the responsibility for three types of written exchanges. A bulletin is circulated regularly to all institutes summarizing the results of all meetings and consultations. Twice a year a more comprehensive document is prepared which includes relevant CMEA resolutions, modifications in working plans, scientific articles prepared by participants, activities of international organizations, and national activities. A third publication contains the results of the cooperation.

There were seven ECE U.N. publications on environmental problems which include the proceedings of seminars and major studies. Although not all the major studies of the OECD are published, they are declassified after a certain period of time, usually shortly after approval of the Environment Committee. Twenty-six, including the results of seminars, have appeared in published form. The six publications of the European Communities included the annual Report on the State of the Environment, Report on Radio-active Wastes from Nuclear Power Stations in the Community, a Comparative Manual on Environmental Protection, and the results of the Colloquium on Mercury and Cadmium.

3. Meetings

Between 1970 and December 1975, the OECD Environment Committee and its subgroups held approximately 585 days of meetings. Council of Europe bodies had 530 meeting days; ECE bodies 235; and the European Commission 320.

The meetings of the European Commission take two forms. One is in the form of consultations with experts, administrators, and representatives from interested governmental, labor, industrial, and consumer groups. The main purpose of these consultations is to inform the staff of the Commission of the different points of view in order to facilitate the drafting of proposals acceptable to all sides. In preparing specific proposals, the second type of meeting with government experts is held. The Environment Service has about eight meeting days a month of both these groups or about eighty meetings days per year.

The general functions of both the meetings of the Council of Europe bodies working on environmental problems are to decide upon the work program, to guide and conduct studies, and to formulate appropriate legal instruments. The meetings, like the studies, are aimed at influencing government policy either through exposure to the problems or through the elaboration of instruments to deal with them.

The ECE meetings are of three major types: (1) the annual five-day meetings of the principal subsidiary bodies; (2) expert groups which meet either on an ad hoc or permanent basis; and (3) preparatory meetings for seminars and symposia.¹⁵ The meetings at the administrative level discuss broad policy issues; exchange views on trends, policies, strategies; and review and analyze the existing situation. They also review the work accomplished or in progress, and discuss and decide upon future programs of work and priorities. In-depth discussion on specific items of the work program take place in ad hoc or permanent groups of experts, which study problems and exchange information on their practical experience and on operational and administrative policies. Meetings are also a means to prepare for activities covered in other tasks.

Task One activities of the CMEA are usually directly related to the realization of research cooperation and coordination. The meetings of the Environmental Council and the Council of Representatives are therefore primarily devoted to elaborating and approving the cooperative research programs. There are numerous working groups at various levels which meet once or twice a year to exchange information on the progress of research. More frequent contacts take place between institutes carrying out common projects.

4. Seminars, symposia, conferences

In the six-year period under study, 26 seminars, symposia, and conferences on environmental subjects were held by the ECE; the Council of Europe held 17, the European Communities 11 and the OECD 5.

In the ECE, seminars and symposia (essentially the same thing) are valuable for the exchange of information on specific topics.¹⁶ An introductory report on the general situation and main problem areas is usually prepared by a rapporteur on the basis of information submitted by governments. The preparatory meeting works out detailed proposals concerning the content of this information. Governmental appointed rapporteurs present policy,

technical, and scientific papers. The number of papers presented varies widely from between ten to fifty, with a total of approximately 250 to 300 pages of reports. The papers often reflect the views of the governments, although this is not always the case. Discussions follow the presentation of papers. Seminars and symposia are usually attended by about 100 governmental representatives. They are often followed by study tours where concrete problems are studied first hand.

Four seminars of the OECD have been purely academic and not governmental. They were organized by the Sub-Committees of Economic Experts for themselves, for the secretariat, and to disseminate knowledge. Consultants and experts who have done research in the field were invited by the Secretariat to participate and present papers.

Eleven conferences, colloquia, and symposia have been held by the European Commission on such topics as the contamination by mercury and cadmium, the effects of lead on health and the environmental effects of carbon monoxide and pesticides. These conferences are organized for very specific purposes and aid the Commission in carrying out the environmental program.

The nature of conferences, symposia, and colloquia of the Council of Europe varies and can include several aspects, among them program development, information exchange, and publicity. The seminars organized by the CMEA bodies are devoted primarily to the exchange of scientific and technical information relative to the solution of particular problems. In 1975 two major seminars were held on the elaboration of methods of forecasting water quality in contaminated waters.¹⁸

5. Courses

The yearly one-week courses of the Council of Europe are educational programs on applied ecology for administrative officers and technicians whose work has direct or indirect effects on the national environment. An important task of the CMEA

Coordination Centers is to organize courses and seminars which are generally aimed at the post-graduate training of scientific personnel. These are carried out by national institutes. Training also involves the exchange of personnel from scientific and research institutions.

B. Task Two: Development of Methods and Research

This task includes the generation of new information, generally referred to as research. Methodologies for the solution of specific problems must be worked out. This includes the standardization of methods, data, and measurement equipment. Health criteria and tolerances must be established to provide an objective, scientific basis for the elaboration of guidelines and standards in relation to specific pollutants and polluting products. Measurement techniques and technical processes must also be developed.

These tasks are generally carried out through research cooperation and coordination, which turns "national resources toward these international problems, while providing international planning, coordination, integration, and exchange of experience and information."¹⁹

The elaboration of criteria, guidelines and standards is generally worked out in the organization as part of resolutions, directives, or conventions. Within the European Communities, their elaboration as integral parts of specific directives is a fundamental goal of the environment program. (See Table 12, pp. 137). As of January 1, 1976, one proposed directive concerns health criteria; three (two adopted and one proposed) concerned water quality objectives; one adopted dealt with measurement and testing. Fourteen dealt with standards: air and water quality standards (one proposed); and product standards (three adopted and eight proposed). Two concerned industrial sectors (both proposed). One recommendation (adopted); nine decisions (seven adopted, one proposed); and seven directives (four adopted, three proposed) covering very different subjects generally included guidelines and specific

principles for action.²⁰ Within the context of Euratom, radiation protection standards are determined and periodically revised.

Within the Council of Europe, guidelines and specific principles have been developed in nine cases, (See Table 11, p. 135); eight of these were incorporated in resolutions, and a ninth is a booklet entitled "Agricultural Pesticides" which develops criteria, guidelines, and a methodology to guide manufacturers, national authorities, and others concerned with the registration of pesticides.²¹ Minimum standards are being worked out for the European Convention on the Protection of International Fresh Waters against Pollution.

Finding commonly accepted methodologies for assembling information and data is a very important function of all ECE bodies. The goal is to provide a comparable basis for analysis of the information furnished by the various governments. A methodology for the preparation of a unified inventory of SO₂ emissions from stationary sources in the ECE region has been worked out.²² In 1975, the development of the technical modalities for a monitoring program and evaluation of the long-range transmission of air pollutants in the ECE region, beginning with SO₂, became a part of the work program of the working Party on Air Pollution. Special attention was to be given to harmonization of methods of measurement. The development of guidelines for the control of emissions from specific industries, beginning with the non-ferrous metallurgical industries, is part of the 1975-1976 work program of the Working Party on Air Pollution.²³ In cooperation with the Conference of European Statisticians and the U.N. Statistical Commission, the Senior Advisers are working on the development of environmental statistics.²⁴ The Committee of Housing, Building and Planning prepared a checklist of Environmental Factors to be considered in the planning and development of human settlements.²⁵ Noise and emission standards for motor vehicles were elaborated for three regulations annexed to the Agreement on Motor Vehicle Equipment and Parts.²⁶

Task Two activities are an important part of OECD work. Guidelines and specific principles have

been adopted in seven recommendations and one decision. (See Table 10, p. 134). Methodologies and comparability of measurement techniques have been or are being developed within the three research coordination projects. In addition, a methodology has been developed for assessing the international trade implications of environmental measures adopted in industry;²⁷ guidelines have been formulated for utilizing damage functions in the environmental decision-making process; a methodology for optimal control of specific water pollutants was worked out in relation to the project on strategies for specific water pollutants control. Within the Mediterranean Pilot Study, a methodology of economic analysis was developed to assess the impact of pollution on coastal areas.²⁸ A method for determining the biodegradability of anionic surfactants which are used in detergents was determined and adopted by countries.²⁹

The CMEA and the European Communities are the only two organizations with extensive research cooperation and coordination programs.

All the work described in the CMEA Expanded Program of Cooperation in the Field of Environmental Protection and Improvement and Rational Utilization of Natural Resources involves Task Two activities. It includes 159 activities within the eleven problem areas. One third are aimed at the development of new or improved technological processes in order to reduce pollution. Another third are directed toward the elaboration of standards, unified methods, technology, and design documentation. Twenty activities will develop water and gas treatment equipment as well as control and measuring instruments. A number of other projects will work on wasteless technological processes. This work, arranged under the auspices of CMEA bodies, is essentially research cooperation and coordination among scientific institutions in the member countries.

There are four forms of research cooperation. Scientific institutions within member countries can informally agree to divide research work; no written agreement is involved. Formal multilateral or bilateral cooperative agreements between institutions can also serve as the basis for

cooperation. This is the preferred form of cooperation on environmental problems. Third, a joint laboratory can be established. There are no such arrangements in the environment. Fourth, ad hoc multinational working groups can be formed to do common research in a country which has the appropriate facilities. Possibilities for such cooperation are being investigated. In general, each country finances its own part of the research.

Cooperation within the CMEA must be included in the individual national economic plans. In general, on the basis of the research already approved in the national plans, countries agree to make international contributions. The national plans are, however, often flexible. The National Water Authorities, for example, allocate a fixed amount for CMEA research, the contents of which can be decided upon later. In the same way, the initial Environmental Agreements designated only broad areas, leaving ample scope for specific national research projects to be incorporated.

All the Task Two activities constitute major goals of CMEA research cooperation. A few examples will illustrate the type of work. Physical and chemical methods were elaborated to determine the quantity of pollutants in air, potable water, and soil. Methods have been developed to forecast the entry of pollutants into water bodies and to forecast the quality of polluted natural waters. Methods of analysis for determining the physical and chemical properties of wastes have been elaborated. A classification system has been worked out for different uses of water. Maximum allowable pollutants are given for three groups of pollutants and four classes of water. (See Task Four).

The principles of a nature conservation educational system were defined. Proposals were prepared for the maximum admissible noise levels of motor vehicles. Proposals for establishing automatic stations to monitor the quality of surface water are being worked out. In relation to the oil and gas industries, optimum indicators and a scheme for re-use of biologically purified waters have been determined. In relation to the oil, gas and coal industries, instruments and techniques for determining air pollution have been developed and unified.

Methods for measuring the noise of motor vehicles have been elaborated. Methods for measuring household wastes and their major components have been worked out and standardized.

Techniques to treat waste gases for fluorides and chlorides have been developed. Cooperation is under way to develop a technique for reducing the emission of nitrogen oxides in industrial waste gases from production of nitrogen acid. Within the framework of the Standing Commission on Gas and Oil Industries, a unit for treatment of cooling water of petrochemical industries was constructed, and hermetically sealed system to purify stratum waters were developed.³¹ The patents for the know-how resulting from the research cooperation are freely exchanged.

Another goal of this cooperation is to develop common equipment and harmonize its production in the spirit of division of labour among socialist countries. A Center for Water and Gas Cleaning Equipment is being organized with the responsibility for coordinating the development and assuring the compatibility of water and gas cleaning equipment.

Research coordination and cooperation of the European Communities take place within the General Directorate on Research, Science, and Education. As part of its research coordination functions, the Commission periodically organizes expert or contact groups on specific research topics. National experts are able to coordinate their national programs through the information obtained at these meetings on current and planned research projects. These expert groups also identify research needs and help develop the Community research program.

The Communities environmental research program is aimed at obtaining the technical and scientific data necessary for the implementation of the environment program. Research cooperation consists of two types of action -- "direct" and "indirect." "Direct" action is the responsibility of the Joint Research Center in Ispra, Italy, and is financed wholly by the Community. Sixteen million units of account were allocated for environmental research under the Community's Multi-Annual Research and

Training Program for the four years starting with 1973.^{32,33} In addition there is a project in the field of recycling of raw materials carried out by the Joint Research Centre, to which 1.65 million units of account have been allocated.

"Indirect" action takes two forms. The first is "common action or shared cost research," which is carried out by partial Community funding of research in institutes and laboratories in member States. The Commission pays up to 50% of the costs. 6.3 million units of account were allocated for the three-year period between 1973-1975.^{34,35} The second form, called "concerted action," is part of the program for Scientific and Technical Cooperation in Europe (COST). This cooperation takes place under a special agreement among the Nine and ten non-member countries.³⁶ Three of the eight COST agreements accepted in November 1971 concern pollution.³⁷ COST research is financed by the countries themselves. The Commission acts to bring the interested parties together and pays only for the secretariat functions. It helps in choosing the research topics, in preparing the research outlines, and in editing the final reports. It also pays for any organized meetings between the various research groups or institutions. Due to the success of the COST projects, it is hoped to include this type of concerted action in the new environment research program.³⁸

In addition to the research under the environmental program of the Economic Community, extensive research goes on within the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom) and the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC). The aim of the Euratom research program, which has existed since 1960, is to determine the dangers and effects of nuclear radiation and to formulate protection measures. The Euratom program is designed to coordinate, promote, and encourage research. Liaison and coordinating committees have been formed within specific sectors to facilitate the mutual exchange of information between national researchers. Promotion activities have consisted of organizing research teams of scientists from national institutions who act under the aegis of the Commission. Encouragement of research has taken the form of contacts with certain institutes which are provided with additional funds to carry out specific studies.³⁹

Since 1956, the European Coal and Steel Community has sponsored several research programs,⁴⁰ the initial ones solely for combatting air pollution.⁴¹ Four million units of account were allocated for the second technical program from 1969-74. Research was carried out through 35 research contracts with national research institutions.⁴² Between 1952 and 1972, 9.5 million u.a. were allocated to research relating to respiratory diseases.⁴³ Ten million units of account have been allocated to the execution of the third program on technical control of pollution in the iron and steel industry, 1974-78. In addition to air pollution, this program will include problems of industrial water and noise pollution as well as elimination or disposal of industrial wastes, especially toxic wastes.^{44,45}

The OECD Environment Committee has three research cooperation projects. One is the Wildlife Sampling and Analysis program, which is a biological monitoring program to determine if wildlife can be used as an indicator of trends of environmental contamination for inter-comparison between countries. Some forty laboratories in fifteen countries participate.⁴⁶ Another is the Co-operative Technical Program to Measure the Long Range Transport of Air Pollutants, in particular sulphur dioxide, in which over sixty sampling stations in eleven countries are involved.⁴⁷ Eighteen member countries and forty national institutes working on eutrophication control are part of the Cooperative Projects for the Monitoring of Inland Waters.⁴⁸

Other research projects in member countries are not coordinated officially, although one report was prepared by the Air Management Research Group in 1971 entitled "Present and Future Priorities in Research Effects of Air Pollution," which included the present distribution of efforts, priority areas for future research, and those aspects which could benefit from international cooperation.⁴⁹ With this exception, information on research in member countries is collected only as it is relevant to the management of program activities.

Within the ECE, with the exception of the work by the Group of Experts on Urban and Regional Research of the Committee on Housing, Building and Planning,

no committee, including the Senior Advisers on Environmental Problems, has activities for the coordination of environmental research. However, the identification of research and development needs is an item often included in individual studies. The successful method for systematic and regular research cooperation of the Group of Experts on Urban and Regional Research, includes the publication of a directory identifying and describing regional and urban research institutes in the ECE region; two conferences of the directors of these institutes; the meeting of national representatives (referred to as focal points) to exchange information; a permanent group of experts; a system of annotated lists of current research; and an unofficial colloquium for exchange of information on specific topics.

The Council of Europe has no environmental research coordination activities.

C. Task Three: Information Systems

This task includes three different types of activities, whose implementation varies among the different organizations. (1) The first is information and data collection systems, which generally involve computerized information collection and distribution services. (2) A second category is notification systems to communicate national policies, actions, and measures taken by member countries to other members and to the organization itself. This is done either to serve as an advance warning of the possible international repercussions of national actions or to help member governments formulate their own policies and assist the organizations in designing their programs of action. (3) A third category covers information centers, whose main task is the collection and distribution of various types of information to governmental and non-governmental groups working on environmental problems and to the public at large. Information campaigns are publicity-oriented actions to influence public opinion and decision-makers.

1. Information and Data Collection Systems

The Council of Ministers of the European Communities adopted a decision in October 1975 approving the establishment of a European Inventory of Sources and Information on the Environment, which sets up a common procedure for the preparation and constant updating of the following information:

- (a) a list of documentation sources;
- (b) a list of scheduled and current research projects;
- (c) a list of specialist services and individual experts.⁵¹

The Inventory will form the technical basis for harmonization and coordination of information services and technical information needed for elaborating the action program and for implementing the program at the national level. It should also reveal gaps in knowledge and thus indicate directions for research.

In December 1974, the Council adopted a proposal to create a European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions. The Foundation's activities began in 1976. It was intended to serve as a clearing house on information and studies completed and under way; to assist the Commission in arranging for work necessary to carry out the environment program; to identify existing studies, find contractors to carry out new ones, or do them within the Foundation; and finally to carry out research.⁵² Initial work which began in 1979, however, was limited to the humanization of work, the problem of time and problems of certain categories of workers.

One Decision and one proposal dealt with information exchange between monitoring networks. The Decision established a common procedure for the reciprocal exchange of information between surveillance and monitoring networks for data relating to atmospheric pollution by sulphur compounds and suspended particles. The system applies to 5,000 permanent stations and provides the statistical basis and comparative data needed for drawing up Community pollution control measures and information about the effects of anti-pollution policies.⁵³ A similar

decision was adopted in 1977 on the quality of surface fresh water. This information sets the basis for a community-wide pollution monitoring system which will eventually allow the Commission to ascertain if the Community objectives and standards are being observed.

The CMEA is planning an environmental sub-system of the International Scientific and Technical Information Center at headquarters in Moscow. It will eventually process information on CMEA cooperation, national programs, on-going research and results of research in CMEA countries, and data on the environmental situation. Discussions between CMEA and UNEP to explore the possibilities of coordinating their information systems has lead to the adoption of CMEA of the IRS methodology for classifying their information.

No environmental information systems are being developed within the ECE. Instead the ECE is supporting the development of the UNEP International Referral System and the Environmental Law Information System being carried out by the International Union for the Conservation of Nature.

2. Notification Systems

The OECD Environment Committee adopted a notification and consultation procedure or "early warning" system in 1971. Its purpose was "to allow all member countries to receive, as far as practicable, prior notification of measures pending" or recently taken in one country which could have undesirable effects on man or the environment or significantly affect the economy or trade of other countries. Member countries agreed to notify other member countries on a voluntary basis of legislation, regulations, or administrative measures, particularly those concerning chemicals. Notifications are submitted to the Secretariat which informs the governments, after which any member country can request a consultation to discuss trade, economic, or other effects that the measures may have on others.⁵⁴ Thirty-three notifications had been received by May 1976 and one consultation had been held on PCBs. A

second consultation in 1976 to assess measures taken to implement the Decision on PBCs. (See p. 282)

In February 1973, the Council of Ministers of the European Communities adopted an information agreement by which member governments agreed to supply data to the Commission on any legal instruments and regulatory or administrative measures envisaged to protect the environment. This agreement was to harmonize urgent environmental measures taken at the national level in the initial stages of the process and to ensure the smooth operation of the Common Market. Governments agreed to inform the Commission voluntarily of any draft measures that could affect the functioning of the Common Market or Environment Program. The information is passed on to other member States. The Commission has two months to decide and inform the concerned State if it intends to develop a proposal for Community action on the subject, and five more months to submit a definite proposal to the Council. The Council of Ministers has an additional five months to rule on the proposal. If harmonized Community measures are not taken during this twelve-month period, the notifying State is then authorized to act unilaterally. The States do retain the right, however, to take action for urgent health or safety reasons.⁵⁵ (See p. 283)

3. Information Centers and campaigns

The European Information Centre for Nature Conservation of the Council of Europe was set up in 1967 and obtained permanent status in 1975. Its major activities include the following:

- publication of a monthly newsletter which includes recent events and information on environmental problems discussed in the Council of Europe, other international organizations, and at the national level. The newsletter is translated into eight languages.
- publication of a quarterly bulletin, Naturopa, in four languages. Each is printed in 20,000 copies.

Both publications are for the general public and distributed within and outside member countries.

- maintenance of a documentation centre and a question and answer service.

- compilation of lists of audio-visual equipment and documents.

- organization of publicity campaigns. A campaign was organized in connection with European Conservation Year in 1970, on soil conservation in 1973 and on protection of fresh waters in 1974 (the European Architectural Heritage Year in 1975 was organized by the Committee on Monuments and Sites). The campaign in 1976-77 is on conservation and management of wet-lands.

The publicity campaigns and distribution of publications of the Centre and the European Committee are done through a network of national agencies.⁵⁶

The European Communities carried out an information campaign on environment in the Communities high schools in 1972 and 1973.⁵⁷

D. Task Four: Informal Coordination of Policy

Informal coordination of policy comprises (1) the declaration of principles and general recommendations, and (2) the recommendation of specific principles and guidelines. Actions of the first kind express broad programmatic agreement or policy statements and a desire to implement general lines of action as far as each country considers it possible. Actions of the second kind state specific targets to be implemented as far as constitutionally possible and where machinery exists. These agreements, which involve moral and political, but not strong legal commitments, are generally adopted unanimously by the members of the organization. Their implementation, even if reporting procedures are involved, is up to the discretion of member governments. Their force and significance depend upon the importance given to them by the member States. The legal instruments of

the traditional IGOs are generally of this type. All the organizations under study can take decisions of this informal nature.

During the period 1970-75, the OECD Council adopted seven general recommendations or broad policy statements and seven recommendations of specific principles and guidelines. All are directed to member countries who agree individually to carry out certain actions, two deal with relations between States, and seven include program instructions to the Environment Committee. (See Table 10, p. 134)

The Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe adopted twenty Resolutions: six declarations of principles, six recommendations of general principles, five recommendations of specific principles, and three recommendations setting out guidelines.⁵⁸ (See Table 11, p. 135)

Seven sets of general recommendations have been drawn up at seminars of ECE principal subsidiary bodies and subsequently endorsed by the sponsoring body. Those adopted at seminars confirm practices and principles already applied or at least accepted, rather than suggesting new ideas. Governments are encouraged to pursue specific desirable actions and policies to implement these principles and practices. Needed research on the problem is encouraged, and sometimes ideas for additional ECE work are suggested.

The Council of Ministers of the European Communities adopted one specific recommendation and four resolutions; one of the latter is a declaration of principles, one a revision of the program, and one gives the Commission powers to adapt Directives to technical progress. In addition the Commission has made two recommendations to member states: one concerning the protection of architecture and natural heritage, and another on the protection of birds and their habitats, which invites member States to accede to two international Conventions. (See Table 12, p. 137)

The methods, criteria, guidelines, measurement techniques, and technical processes worked out in the research cooperation of CMEA are often used as the basis for non-binding recommendations to member

TABLE 10
LEGAL INSTRUMENTS OF THE OECD ON ENVIRONMENT

1970-75

TITLE	YEAR	GROUP RESPON- SIBLE	NATURE	INFORM- ATION RE- QUIRED			NATURE OF OBLIGATIONS
				General	Recommendation of specific principles	Recommendation of Guidelines	
RESOLUTIONS Procedure for Notification & Consulta- tion on Measures for Control of Substan- ces Affecting Man or His Environment RECOMMENDATIONS Analysis of the Environmental Consequences of Significant Public and Private Projects Noise prevention and Abatement Traffic limitation and Low-cost Improvement of Urban Environment							
	1974	Urban Minis.	x	General	Recommendation of specific principles	Recommendation of Guidelines	Country obligations
	1974	Urban Minis.	x				Relations between states
	1974	Urban Minis.	x				Program instructions to the Environment Committee

TABLE 11

LEGAL INSTRUMENTS OF THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE
ON THE ENVIRONMENT

1966-1975

TITLE	SUBJECT	YEAR	NATURE				INFORMATION REQUIRED	
			Declaration of Principles	Recommendation of General Principles	Recommendation of Specific Principles	Recommendation of Guidelines	YES	NO
CHARTERS								
European Water Charter	water	1967	x				x	
European Soil Charter	soil	1972	x				x	
European Charter of the Architectural Heritage	monuments & sites	1975	x					
RESOLUTIONS								
Birds in Need of Special Protection	nature	1967		x			x	
Various Causes of Disappearance of Wildlife	nature	1967		x				
Declaration of Principles on Air Pollution Control	air	1968	x				x	
Activities of National Agencies of the European Information Center	information	1968						
European Fresh Water Conservation Campaign	information	1968		x			x	
Studies on Groundwater Deposits	water	1968		x			x	
Poisoning the Waters of the Rhine	water	1969		x			x	
Preservation of the Countryside in Regional Planning of Non Urban Areas	regional planning	1969		x			x	
Sea Pollution	water	1969						
Effects of Noise on Health and Noise Abatement	noise	1969			x		x	
Criteria and Methods of Cataloguing Ancient Buildings and Historical or Artistic Sites	monuments & sites	1966				x	x	
Reviving of Monuments	"	1966			x		x	
Principles and Practice of the Active Preservation and Rehabilitation of Groups and areas of Buildings of Historical or Artistic Interest	"	1968		x				
Active Maintenance of Monuments, Groups and Areas of Buildings of Historical or Artistic Interest within the Context of Regional Planning	"	1968			x			

TABLE 12
Environmental Legislative Action of the
European Communities

SUBJECT	YEAR ADOPTED	Nature			
		Declaration of principles	Recommendation of specific principles	Harmonization of policy	Acceptance of common criteria and standards
<u>Task Four: Informal Coordination of Policy</u>					
<u>Recommendations</u>					
Cost allocation	1975		x		
Protection & architectural & natural heritage (Commission Recom.)	1975		(x)		
Protection of Birds and their Habitats (Commission Recom.)	1975		(x)		
<u>Resolutions</u>					
Convention on marine pollution from land-based sources	1975		x		
Energy and the Environment	1974	x			
Adaptation of Technical Progress of Directives	1975		x		
Revised List of 2nd Category Pollutants	1975		x		
<u>Task Five: Formal Coordination of Policy</u>					
<u>Regulations</u>					
Creation of European Foundation	1974			x	
Improvement of working conditions					
<u>Decisions</u>					
(a) Program					
Information exchange between air surveillance and monitoring networks	1975			x	
European inventory of sources of information	1975			x	
Information exchange between water surveillance and monitoring networks	1977			+	
Program on radioactive waste management and storage	1975			x	

TABLE 12 cont.

SUBJECT	YEAR ADOPTED	Nature			
		Declaration of principles	Recommendation of specific principles	Harmonization of policy	Acceptance of common criteria and standards
(b) Joint Community Action					
Conclusion of European Convention for the Protection of International Water Sources Against Pollution				(x)	
Community participation in the Interim Commission of the Convention for the Protection of Marine Pollution from Land-based sources	1975			x	
Conclusion of convention for Prevention of Marine Pollution from land based sources	1975			x	
Community Participation in the Convention on Protection of Rhine Waters against Chemical Pollution	1975			x	
Community participation in the Mediterranean Dumping Convention	1975			x	
<u>Directives</u>					
<u>Health criteria</u>					
Lead	1977				(x)
Anhydride sulphurous acid and suspended particles					+
Carbon monoxide					+
<u>Air and Water Quality Standards</u>					
Lead - air					(x)
Anhydride sulphurous acid and suspended particles					+
Carbon monoxide					+
<u>Water</u>					
<u>Quality Objectives</u>					
Surface water for drinking	1975				x
Sea and fresh water for bathing	1975				x
Fresh water fish breeding	1978				+
Sea water in shell-fish farming areas	1979				+
Water for human consumption	1978				(x)
Water for agricultural use					+
<u>Measurement and Testing</u>					
Methods for testing biodegradability of detergents	1973			x	
Frequency of sampling and measurement methods for surface waters	1979			+	

TABLE 12 cont.

Product Standards

Level of biodegradability of labelling of detergents	1973			x
Air pollution of motor vehicles	1970 & 1974			x
Lead content of petrol	1978			(x)
Sulphur content of liquid fuel	1975			x
Ceramic cooking utensils				(x)
Marketing and use of dangerous substances	1979			(x)
Sound level of motor vehicles	1978			(x)
Sound level of construction plant equipment	1978			(x)
Sound level for pneumatic concrete breakers and jack hammers				(x)
Acoustic nuisances of lawnmowers				+
Acoustic nuisances of aircraft				+
Sulphur emissions of certain fuel oils				(x)
Noise level of motorcycles	1978			(x)

Industrial and Consumer Wastes

Disposal of waste oils	1975			x
Waste disposal	1975			x
Polychlorinated biphenyls	1976			(x)
Elimination of toxic and dangerous wastes	1978			+
Dumping of wastes at sea	1976			(x)
Reduction of dangerous substances into the aquatic environment	1976			x

Industrial Sectors

Reduction of water pollution by wood pulp mills				(x)
Waste from titanium dioxide production	1978			(x)

Natural Environment

Mountain and hill farming	1975			x
Forestry measures				(x)

Status as of 31 December, 1975

* = adopted

(x) = proposed

+ = in preparation

countries. For example, recommendations have been adopted on the protection of agricultural products and the environment from pollution by pesticides,⁵⁹ on measures to create new equipment for purifying gases in lead, zinc, and copper productions;⁶⁰ and on measures to prevent pollution by iron and steel plants.⁶¹ Recommendations including general principles, conditions, and criteria for selecting locations for nuclear power plants taking into consideration the preservation of landscapes are worked out by the Permanent Commission on Electric Power. The Conference of Heads of Water Economy Bodies has issued recommendations on amplified rates of water discharge and waste water per unit for specific industries and processes.⁶² Methods for the biological, radiological, chemical, and physical analysis of water have been recommended for examining international waters.

Although few environmental activities have reached the appropriate stage, an important goal of much of the CMEA work is the standardization of methods, measurement techniques, and equipment; and the adoption of criteria and guidelines. These are the subject of recommendations which must be approved by the Executive Committee and which are supposed to be obligatory. For example, a standard methodology for the classification of international waters has been accepted.

E. Task Five: Formal Coordination of Policy

Formal coordination of policy for this study is divided into two categories: (a) the acceptance of principles, guidelines, and common policy and (b) the acceptance of common criteria and standards. This coordination is obviously difficult to attain because it involves a high degree of political cooperation and commitment. Member governments are legally bound to incorporate the agreements into their national policies.

Some of the traditional international organizations have the means to achieve formal coordination of policy. The OECD Council can adopt "decisions binding on the Members which the latter shall

implement after they have complied with the requirements of their appropriate constitutional procedures." The ECE and the Council of Europe can be used as a forum for drawing up conventions or agreements to be submitted to member governments for signature. However, only the European Community has extensive power to adopt formal acts which are binding on member States.

One formal Council Decision has been adopted by the OECD on the Protection of the Environment by Control of Polychlorinated Biphenyls. This is one of the few substantive Decisions ever adopted by the Council. Within the context of the Council of Europe a European Convention on the Protection of International Fresh Waters against Pollution is still being discussed at the Committee of Ministers level. It sets uniform minimum standards of pollution in international fresh waters as well as quality limits for specific uses, and provides a mechanism for improvement of these standards and for the settlement of disputes. Within the Partial Agreement of the Council of Europe, the European Agreement on the Restriction of the Use of Certain Detergents in Washing and Cleaning Products was signed in 1968 by nine countries and is now in force for the six States which have ratified it. It requires a minimum of 80% bio-degradability for synthetic detergents on the market.

In the ECE, formal agreements concerning the environment have been concluded between member governments only within the context of the Inland Transport Committee. Three regulations were elaborated and annexed to the Agreement concerning the adoption of Uniform Conditions of Approval Recognition of Approval for Motor Vehicle Equipment and Parts of March 1958. One regulation concerns noise emissions of motor vehicles and the other two deal with the emission of gaseous pollutants by motor vehicles. A draft regulation is being worked out on motor vehicle pollutant emissions.

The Council of Ministers of the European Communities adopted seven decisions out of the nine proposals put before it by the end of 1975. Ten directives⁶⁵ were adopted and sixteen more were proposed. Those pertaining to health criteria, air

and water quality standards, water quality objectives, products' standards, and industrial sectors have been indicated on the scale of tasks under acceptance of common standards and criteria. Five of these have been adopted and an additional thirteen proposed. The other directives, decisions, and regulations indicate acceptance of principles, guidelines, and common policy. These include measurement and testing, industrial and consumer wastes, natural environment, joint community action on international conventions, information exchange, the European Foundation, and dangerous substances in the aquatic environment. Here thirteen formal acts were adopted and an additional four proposed. (See Table 12)

A number of directives have been adopted in the context of other programs related to environmental problems. Within the common agricultural program, seven concern veterinary practices. Two health directives deal with the classification, packaging, and labelling of dangerous substances. A draft regulation on maximum pesticide residues permitted on fruits and vegetables was proposed. Radiation protection standards and rules to ensure their implementation were adopted in the context of Euratom.

F. Task Six: Cooperative Projects

Common action is directed toward the solution of specific problems. The role of intergovernmental organizations can be to provide coordinating machinery or to serve as a forum for joint planning of international programs which are composed of separate but coordinated national projects.⁶⁶ IGOs also play an operational role where they are responsible for the management of a project. This generally includes technical assistance and financial aid. Although IGOs could, if their members so desired, coordinate international programs, with the exception of the research projects of the OECD, this type of action has not been undertaken by the bodies under study. The possibilities open to the European Communities, however, are of a much different nature, not only because they have the power to adopt legally binding common policies, but also because they have significant

financial means available, in particular through the agricultural, regional, and social funds.⁶⁷

The European Communities' environment program includes two projects for common action which are also part of their Common Agricultural Policy and funded through the agricultural fund. The Council Directive adopted in April 1975 on mountain and hill farming and farming in certain less-favoured areas agreed upon an annual compensatory allowance to be paid to farmers permanently engaged in agriculture in such areas, measures to aid investment and development, and a special system of aid to encourage farming and raise income in certain areas. The latter "include mountain areas in which farming is necessary to protect the countryside, particularly for reasons of protection against erosion or in order to meet leisure needs, [and] . . . areas where the maintenance of a minimum population or the conservation of the countryside are not assured."⁶⁸

The proposal (still pending in 1979) for a Council Directive concerning forestry measures is intended to encourage reforestation and to promote effective land-use patterns. "Acting on the basis of Community concepts and criteria, Member States are to implement the common measures individually through their own legislations and administrative procedures."⁶⁹ Given the long-term nature of the problem and the large investment needed, it is recognized that the creation and improvement of forests can be expected only if a substantial portion of the costs is covered by subsidies. It is proposed that the Community agree to pay between 60-90% through an estimated contribution by the agricultural fund of 178 million units of account for the first five years.⁷⁰

G. Task Seven: Monitoring Adherence to and Enforcement of International Policies

The reason for a monitoring and enforcement procedure is to ensure compliance with international rules. Only the European Communities have the competence and the institutions to develop such a procedure. In the case of non-compliance, the Commission may have recourse to the Court of Justice.

The implementation of the Council Decision establishing a common procedure for the reciprocal exchange of information between atmospheric pollution monitoring networks should provide an initial basis for obtaining the necessary data for this task. However, the scheme so far relies on information furnished by national governments.

H. Some Conclusions

A few general observations can now be made about the division of labour among the tasks. First a rough estimate of the amount of work of each organization devoted to each task has been made. Although it must be underlined that the figures are only approximations, they are nevertheless indicative.

As Table 13 makes clear, the major part of environmental work involved Task One: collection, exchange, and analysis of information and data. The work concentrated on general exchange of information, on the review of the current status of problems, and on policy assessment. Task One activities of the European Communities are of a different nature in that most of this work is to help the Commission draw up legal instruments.

Much less effort was devoted to Task Two Activities. The OECD was relatively active in the development of methodologies and in the elaboration of guidelines and principles. In this area, the ECE worked primarily on the standardization of data and methods and the Council of Europe on the elaboration of guidelines and principles. The guidelines and general principles elaborated by these organizations are generally in connection with recommendations. There was no research cooperation in the Council of Europe and very little in the OECD and ECE, although the research done by the latter two organizations has been effective. The European Communities have been particularly active in elaborating criteria, guidelines, and standards which are an integral part of their directives. The Communities also conduct an extensive research program. Almost all of the work of the CMEA involved research cooperation and coordination, much of this being devoted to the

TABLE 13

PERCENTAGE OF WORK ACCORDING TO TASKS
1970 - 1975

Task Number	C OF E	OECD	ECE	EC	CMEA
1. Collection, Exchange and Analysis of Information and Data	55%	70%	80%	20%	35%
2. Development of Methods and Research	5%	15%	10%	20%	60%
3. Information Systems	15%	2%	0%	10%	0%
4. Informal Coordination of Policy	20%	10%	5%	4%	5%
5. Formal Coordination of Policy	5%	3%	5%	45%	0%
6. Cooperative Projects	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%
7. Monitoring Adherence to and Enforcement of Standards	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

development of technical processes. In contrast to that of other organizations, its work on criteria, guidelines, and standards has so far not been linked to informal or formal coordination of policy.

Concerning Task Three activities, only the European Communities are developing information and data collection systems, although the CMEA is planning to do so. The Communities and the OECD have set up notification systems with qualified success. The Council of Europe is the only organization with an independent information center which also organizes information campaigns.

The Council of Europe has been the most active in the informal coordination of policy, followed by the OECD, with little work of this nature being done by the ECE, European Communities, or CMEA. Although a few important acts and conventions have been worked out by the OECD, ECE and Council of Europe, the bulk of formal coordination of policy is done by the European Communities. The Commission has presented a significant amount of proposals to the Council of Ministers, many of which have already been adopted. Only the European Communities are carrying out common action. No organization has developed machinery for the monitoring and enforcement of international policies.

III. Changes in Cooperative Action Since 1976

The cooperative action of the organizations being studied reached a certain maturity in the middle 70's which allowed them to move from the identification and definition of problems to policy reviews and assessments and to the elaboration of common policies. Less time was spent on the collection and exchange of information and more was devoted to the elaboration of guidelines and methodologies and to the informal and formal coordination of policy. Below the changes for each organization are summarized.

A. European Communities

The Communities continued to pursue their major goal of drafting, approving and implementing community legislation: formal coordination of policy. In 1976 three directives were approved concerning the elimination of PBC's, the reduction of water pollution caused by dangerous substances, and limitation of the use of dangerous substances. In 1977 the following were adopted: a decision on a common procedure for exchange of information on the quality of water, a resolution on the biological screening of the population for lead and a directive on toxic and dangerous wastes. In 1978 directives were approved on protection of water against pollution from the titanium dioxide industry, protection of certain species of fresh water fish, approximation of laws relating to lead content of petrol, noise level of construction plant and equipment, and noise of motor-cycles.⁷² In 1979 the Council of Ministers approved legislation concerning water quality for shellfish breeding, protection of underground water against dangerous substances, measurement methods for the quality of surface waters, and modification of the classification and labeling of dangerous substances.

B. Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development

Most of the recent and proposed OECD work concerns the study and recommendation of policy options and strategies. The goal of the work is the preparation of guidelines and the harmonization of policies: Tasks 2 and 4. An examination of the seventeen recommendations adopted between 1976 and 1979 shows the specificity and policy nature of OECD cooperation. Guidelines for national and international action were set out in the recommendations on procedures and requirements for anticipating the effects of chemicals on man and the environment, on strengthening international cooperation in environmental protection in frontier regions, on environment and tourism and on coal and the environment. Annexes on comprehensive policy principles were integral parts of the recommendations on waste management policy, on coastal management and on the implementation of a

regime of equal right of access and non-discrimination in relation to transfrontier pollution. Another recommendation set out the constituent elements of the equal right of access in relation to transfrontier pollution. The recommendation on the re-use and recycling of beverage containers included a review of measures for its implementation.

Even the exchange of information in some areas is being systematized to perform specific policy functions. The recommendation of the reporting of the state of the environment asks for the development of "comparable environmental indicators and information formats" "to be used in the preparation of future reports in order to arrive at a core set of comparable environmental information for OECD member countries."

The most far reaching development is the complementary information exchange procedure established by the chemical group in June 1977, to assist member countries in coordinating their activities during this period when regulatory control of chemicals are expanding and new toxic substances laws are being passed and implemented.

Communications are to be exchanged on draft laws and regulatory measures with international implications. The idea is to give countries an opportunity to comment on and react to anticipatory measures before they are taken. The unique aspect of this procedure is the direct reporting among member countries through contact points. The procedure was set up because the formal notification procedure and even the informal exchange within the Chemical Group were not adequate. (See pp. 83 and 182) A more direct and faster procedure was needed. It complements, but does not replace the formal procedure which some countries are statutorily required to use.

Another important development is the OECD chemical Program based on a 1978 Council Decision,⁷⁴ which aims at setting a basis for harmonized procedures for the control of chemicals. (See p. 83) This will be carried out through 1981 and involves the development of (1) consistent data requirements and testing methods (2) consistent standards for good laboratory practices and effective means

for enforcing them, (3) mechanisms to facilitate information exchange for substance-related data and for administrative and regulatory actions, (4) solutions to the problem of confidentiality of data, (5) consistent methodologies for analyzing the economic trade impacts of actions regulating chemicals, and (6) an international glossary of key terms. This program is significant not only for the type of coordination being carried out, but also because it was intentionally set up during a period when countries are preparing legislation in order to harmonize action at the formulation stage.

Other areas show the increased emphasis on coordination of policy. A projection toxic air pollutants seeks to develop internationally harmonized recommendations on policy options for their control. Harmonization of action is also the goal of a project on noise abatement policies.

In the area of transfrontier pollution work continues to examine and develop guidelines for the application of the 1974 recommendation setting out principles concerning transfrontier pollution. Work for 1980 includes the principles of international solidarity and non-discrimination, the standstill principle, economic and financial questions, and joint financing of clean-up operations for oil spills. The work on transfrontier pollution, which will end in 1980, will have set the basis for the practical implication of the principles in international air and water basins.

C. Council of Europe

The nature of cooperative action in the Council of Europe remained the same. It continued to carry out in depth studies which set out policy guidelines on the basis of which informal and formal policy instruments were prepared. Nine recommendations were adopted by the Committee of Ministers between 1976 and 1979. They concern the deterioration of the Mediterranean Marquis, rules for the European network of biogenetic reserves, the conservation of Hedgerow landscapes, conservation and management of healthlands, conservation of rare and threatened

plants, the protection of threatened mammals, the protection of lake shores and river basins and, threatened amphibians. The important aspect of the recommendations and drafts awaiting approval is their common goal of setting the basis for the European network of biogenetic reserves. A format of a descriptive card for reserves waits approval. Identification and evaluation cards for the protection of wetlands and of natural landscapes have been prepared. The use of the cards will ensure one system for obtaining comparable information on the urgency and need for protection, protective states required, type of area, a description and evaluation of its characteristics, present use and threats to each reserve area.

A major undertaking since the last Ministerial Conference has been the drafting of the Convention on the Conservation of European Wildlife and Natural Habitats which stipulates obligations for the protection of flora and fauna and bans the use of large scale and non-selective ways and means of capture and killing fauna. Lists are set out for strictly protected flora and fauna and for protected fauna where certain exploitation is possible if the population level permits.

C. Economic Commission for Europe

The most important change in the ECE is the desire of member countries to use the organization as a vehicle for the implementation of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference. A series of initiatives, meetings and negotiations finally culminated in the decision of the Commission of the ECE at its 34th session in May 1979 to convene a high level meeting (HLM) on the protection of the environment from 13 to 16 November 1979. The initiative for such a meeting originated in a speech by Brezhnev in Warsaw in 1975 calling for the all-European congresses as follow-up to the Helsinki Conference.

At the 31st Session of the Commission in 1976 the Soviet government proposed the holding of all-European congresses on cooperation in the field of the protection of the environment, development of

transport and energy. Member governments were asked to study the proposal, which was the subject of a heated debate at the 32rd Session. The Eastern European countries were committed to the idea and refused to go home empty handed. Western countries, in the wake of the Belgrade review and seeking to avoid talkfests that could give the Eastern countries a chance to divert attention from the controversy over the implementation of the human rights provision in the Final Act, were hesitant.

The Executive Secretary expressed the opinion "that the authority of the ECE could be reinforced and its work in the relevant area given an additional impetus, by high-level meetings properly prepared and held within the ECE at an appropriate moment."⁷⁵ A compromise was finally reached to hold a first meeting on the environment if the meeting would meet a set of criteria: "any high-level meeting within the framework of the ECE would require a precise and carefully prepared agenda; the subject matter should require a high level of representation; such a meeting should hold promise of important decisions; the topics for consideration should be of concern to the region as a whole, and not lead to unnecessary duplication of the work of other international organizations."⁷⁶

Intensive preparatory work began. At the 33rd session, the Commission expressed confidence that satisfactory preparatory work on long-range transboundary air pollution and low and non-waste technology meet the above criteria and would permit the convening of a HLM. Further work was needed, however, to prepare important decisions to be adopted at the meeting.⁷⁷ At its 34th Session in May 1979 the decision to convene the meeting was taken.

The preparation for the meeting has been intense and has demanded the almost constant attention of the ECE Secretariat. One of the major issues was over the question of topics which could warrant the convening of a HLM. Early in the process the Nordic countries tabled a draft proposal for a convention on long-range transboundary air pollution. The convention and a declaration on low and non-waste technology were the only two topics upon which significant enough agreement was reached to meet the criteria. Three other topics are to be the subject

of discussion: the protection of flora and fauna and their habitats, rational use and conservation of water resources and toxic substances and compounds.

The negotiation of the convention has been a long and tedious process. A major fight took place over the form of agreement. The Scandinavians for internal reasons were adamant for a convention. They also argued that declarations and recommendations were no longer sufficient. The Common Market countries were just as adamant to avoid binding agreements which would commit them to reduce emissions in a time of fuel shortages and economic difficulties. The form of convention was finally agreed upon, but the content corresponds more closely to a declaration. Some argue that the binding nature has in fact lead to weaker wording of the provisions.

The original Nordic proposal called for constant emissions and a progressive reduction. The economic implications of such a proposal for the polluters would have been prohibitive, necessitating in many cases the modernization of industrial infrastructure. To date the draft convention has been watered down to the point where countries agree on their goodwill intentions to combat air pollution, in particular that originating from new or rebuilt installations. Even countries not directly involved in transfrontier pollution have been hesitant to commit themselves to agreements which bind them to limit and decrease pollution during this time of economic uncertainty.

The provision for the exchange of information is also very weak. Parties agree to exchange information but they are generally free to interpret what and how. The weakest aspect is the comparability of approaches in providing data on emissions. The draft text states that parties shall, in their common interest, exchange available information on data on emissions on agreed upon air pollutants, starting with sulfur dioxide, at periods of time to be agreed upon. Information can be either from grid units or on the fluxes across national borders. The disagreement between the Eastern and Western countries over the form of data dates from the original work of the working party on Air Pollution to prepare inventories of long range transport of air pollution. The Western

countries insist on data of emissions in a fixed grid area and the Eastern countries are willing to provide data only on pollution which crosses national borders. The original data for the inventory on SO₂ pollution submitted by most countries in 1975 was provided according to both methods.

The most significant aspect of the convention is Article Five of the fundamental principles, where States undertake the obligation to consult at the request of any member country whenever an action of one state is likely to increase transfrontier pollution. It is the first time such an obligation is included in a draft convention and thus an important step in the development of international law relating to transfrontier pollution.

Although the draft convention contains no other obligations, it will be the first agreement which morally binds all European countries to coordinate national action for combatting air pollution. It is an official confirmation of the problem of transboundary air pollution in which countries agree to work towards a solution. There are good prospects that the Convention could generate increased cooperation on research, especially related to environmental effects and assessment. The draft convention is a realistic reflection of what can be achieved at this time. If one views it as the end of a process, it is weak. As the beginning of a process it can engender optimism.

The draft declaration on low and non-waste technology and re-utilization and recycling of wastes is a declaration of intent to promote national and international research and development, national incentives and inter-industry technology transfer of such technologies, international exchange of scientific and technical information and cooperation and organization of post-graduate courses. It is also recommended to set up a working party under the Senior Advisers to develop cooperation in this field.

Another important evolution in the functions performed by the ECE in the field of environment is the creation of the program for monitoring and evaluation of the long-range transmission of air pollutants in the ECE region. (EMEP) This is the first cooperative research project of its type in

the ECE. The program is part of the Global Environmental Monitoring System (GEMS) of UNEP, who is funding the international aspects. The objective is to provide governments with information on the concentration and disposition of air pollutants and on the significance and quantity of long-range transmission of transboundary pollution. Two meteorological synthesizing centers have been established in Oslo and Moscow to coordinate meteorological activities in eastern and western Europe. The Norwegian Institute for Air Research was designated as the Chemical Coordinating Centre. It receives data and coordinates the chemical measurement and analysis part of the program. The EMEP and its Steering Body are designated as an integral part of the cooperation established in the draft convention.

In sum, the evolution of the cooperative work since 1976 shows a clear tendency to work towards informal and formal coordination of policy -- Tasks Four and Five. Task Two activities -- development of methodologies, principles and criteria and research are integral parts of the policy coordination. Task One and Three activities -- information exchange and information systems are increasingly carried out as preparation or support for the coordination of policy.

FOOTNOTES

1. ECE Decision B(XXIX).

2. Replaced by "consulting on" in second mandate.

3. ECE Decision B(XXIX).

4. "Information on Cooperation among the CMEA Member Countries in Environmental Protection and Improvement," 1975, Appendix, p. 2.

5. "Program of Action of the European Communities on the Environment," pp. 12-21.

6. "Information on Cooperation among the CMEA Member Countries in Environmental Protection and Improvement," 1975, Appendix, pp. 2-5.

7. Ibid., pp. 13-15.

8. "Programme of Action of the European Communities on the Environment," p. 33.

9. Ibid., p. 7.

10. "Resolution of the OECD Council March 1975, amending the Mandate of the Environment Committee," para. 1.

11. ECE Decision B(XXIX).

12. With the exception of the conventions which are sometimes drawn up within the ECE and Council of Europe and the OECD Decisions.

13. One unit of account = \$1.10 (July 1976) (u.a.)

14. "Summary Reports for Activities in the Programme of Work and Priorities for 1974-75" Senior Advisers on Environmental Problems, ECE document, ENV/R.28, 29 November 1974.

15. There were approximately 62 meeting days at the administrative level. This includes the meetings of the Senior Advisers, Working Party on Air

Pollution, and Committee on Water Problems. Three of the five days for each Water Committee meeting were included, since the Water Committee also deals with Water Management. The meetings of the other PSBs were not included, since at this level only a small percentage of time is devoted to environment.

Within all the ECE PSBs, there were 131 meeting days on environmental problems at the expert level, and 76 days were devoted to the preparation of seminars and symposia. Within the Senior Advisers and the Working Party on Air Pollution, there were 44 meeting days at the administrative level, 14 meeting days at the expert level, and 20 days for the preparation of seminars.

16. The Senior Advisers has held seminars on Desulphurization of Fuels and Combustion Gases; Collection, Disposal and Treatment of Solid Wastes; Ecological Aspects of Economic Development Planning; and the Control of Emissions from Non-ferrous Metallurgical Industries. Seminars on the Environmental Problems Arising from Coal Industry Operations; the Air Pollution Problems of the Inorganic Chemical Industry; the Principles and Creation of Non-Waste Technology and Production; and on the Role of Transportation in Urban Planning, Development and Environment took place in 1976. Two more seminars on the Effects of Pollution on Vegetation and on Fine Particulates took place in 1977. (See "Summary Reports for Activities in the Programme of Work and Priorities for 1974-75,").

17. Four major seminars were held between 1971 and 1973 on the Problems of Environmental Economics (1971 for two months), Energy and the Environment (1973 for ten days), the Economic and Legal Aspects of Transfrontier Pollution (1972 for ten days) and Environmental Damage Costs (1973 for ten days). A three-day conference was held in 1975 on "Better Towns with less Traffic."

18. "Information on Cooperation in the CMEA Member Countries in the Field of Environmental Protection and Improvement and the Related Use of Natural Resources," prepared by the CMEA Secretariat for the Fourth Session of the Senior Advisers to ECE Governments on Environmental Problems, February, 1976.

19. Skolnikoff, Eugene R., The International Imperatives of Technology, Geneva, European Centre of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1970 p. 48.

20. "Status of the Action Programme of the European Communities on the Environment as of January 1, 1976," Commission of the European Communities working paper, ENV/62/76-E, 31 January 1976. For details see Task Five, chart 13 and Annexes 8 and 9, and Table 12.

21. Agricultural Pesticides, 3rd Edition, Strasbourg Council of Europe publication, 1973.

22. "Report of the Fifth Session of the Working Party on Air Pollution Problems," (13-17 January 1975), ECE document, ENV/WPl/4, 30 January 1975, p. 6.

23. Ibid., Annex II.

24. "Summary Reports for Activities in the Programme of Work and Priorities for 1974-75," p. 20.

25. "Comments on the Checklist on Environmental Factors to be Taken into Account in the Planning and Development of Human Settlements," ECE document, HBP/R.30, 30 May 1974.

26. "Agreement Concerning the Adoption of Uniform Conditions of Approval and Reciprocal Recognition of Approval for Motor Vehicle Equipment and Parts," ECE document, E/ECE/324/Rev.1, 15 October 1968.

27. Economic Implications of Pollution Control; A General Assessment.

28. "Mediterranean Pilot Study of Environmental Degradation and Pollution from Coastal Development," OECD, document for general distribution, Environment Directorate, 1975.

29. "Pollution by Detergents: The Determination of Biodegradability of Anionic Synthetic Surface Active Agents," OECD document for general distribution. Environment Directorate, OECD, 1972.

30. "Information on Cooperation among the CMEA Member Countries in Environmental Protection and Improvement," 1975, p. 3.

31. "Information on Co-operation of the CMEA Member Countries in the Field of Environmental Protection . . .," pp. 3-12.

32. "Programme of Action of the European Communities on the Environment," p. 33.

33. In preparing the program it was decided not to deal with para-industrial research on pollution abatement technology or isolated cases of local pollution but rather to orientate the work towards medium and long-term activities of general or Community-wide interest. It was accepted that this kind of program would not deliver fast or spectacular results. ("Layout of the Environment Research Programme at the Joint Research Centre," document of the Commission of the European Communities, EUR/C-IS/857/73e, December 1973, p. 2.) Activities are in three general areas: (1) analysis and measurement; (2) pathways and/or effects of pollution and (3) models and system studies. Some of the specific areas are: (1) remote sensing of pollution; (2) chemistry of air pollutants, SO₂ uptake by plants and soils, lead pollution by traffic, and biological water pollution tests; (3) regional air modelling, heat balance in urban areas, and environmental impact assessment. (Ibid., p. 6). Significant results have been obtained especially with regard to remote sensing of atmospheric pollutants, multiple detection of inorganic micropollutants and on a pilot project relating to a data bank on pollutant chemical products (which involves also indirect research). ("Status of the Environment Programme as of 1 May 1975," p. 8.)

34. "Programme of action of the European Communities on the Environment," pp. 33-34.

35. Contracts were initially limited to six areas:
- (a) establishment of a data bank on environmental chemicals;
 - (b) health and environmental effects of lead pollution;
 - (c) epidemiological surveys on the effects of air and water pollution;

- (d) health effects of micropollutants;
- (e) evaluation of ecological effects of water pollutants;
- (f) remote sensing of air pollution. (Official Journal of the European Communities, Vol. 16 No. C61, 28 July 1973, p. 1.

36. The idea for this type of cooperation was initiated in 1967 by the Community Working Party on Scientific and Technical Research Policy (Prest) which began studying the possibilities of European cooperation with the potential participation of non-Community countries, (Industry, Research and Technology, No. 190, 22 May 1973, Annex 2, p. 1) in the areas of telecommunication, data processing meteorology, new means of transport, oceanography, metallurgy, and pollution. Broad ageement and interest was shown on developing certain projects on a European scale. The then acceding States and ten other countries (Austria, Finland, Spain, Greece, Portugal, Norway, Switzerland, Sweden, Yugoslavia, and Turkey) were invited to cooperate. Experts from the nineteen countries selected projects suitable for immediate cooperation. The first eight cooperative agreements were accepted on 23 November 1971, by the research ministers of the concerned States and corresponded to an outlay of \$21,000 for five years.

37. One is aimed at discovering the natural mechanisms by which sulphur compounds are removed from the atmosphere and at developing measuring methods and techniques in this field. Another is aimed at the development of a versatile detection system covering the whole range of organic substances, for identifying organic micropollutants in water and determining their concentration, with a view to assessing the hazard due to their presence. The third is aimed at standardizing existing methods of characterizing sewage sludge prior to a comparative analysis of methods of treating and disposing of it. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

38. This could involve non-member countries other than those cooperating in COST.

39. "First Communication of the Commission about the Communities Policy on the Environment," document

of the Commission of the European Communities, SE C(71)2616 final, 22 July 1971, p. A4.

40. Research is financed by funds levied by the High Authority in iron, steel, and mining industries.

41. Research on the technical aspects included determining the extent and nature of air pollution outside and inside factories; developing new processes and perfecting plants and products to combat pollution; and improving and standardizing measuring methods, techniques and equipment. Ibid., p. 41.

42. "Technical Control of Air Pollution in the Iron and Steel Industry: Research Progress Report, 30 June 1972," edited by the Directorate General for Dissemination of Information, document of the Commission of the European Communities, EUR 4921, Luxembourg, October 1972, pp. 8-10.

43. In the medical sphere, research was related to respiratory diseases, epidemiological surveys, basic research into the filtering out of particles, and diagnostic and therapeutic methods.

44. Official Journal of the European Communities, Vol. 17, No. C92, 6 August 1974, p. 10.

45. Due to the results of the previous programs, the third program will be able to concentrate on prevention techniques and the development of specific methods to reduce pollution emissions in cooking plants, cast iron foundries, steelworks, and rolling mills. (Industry and Society, No. 10, 12 March 1974, Annex 3, p. 1.).

46. "Report on Third Technical Meeting on Occurrence and Significance of Chemicals in the Environment-Berlin (West)," (January 1972), OECD, document for general distribution, Environment Directorate, 1972.

47. "Co-operative Technical Programme to Measure the Long Range Transport of Air Pollutants," OECD, document for general distribution, Environment Directorate, 1972.

48. "Summary Report of the Agreed Monitoring Projects on Eutrophication of Waters," OECD, document for general distribution, Environment Directorate, 1973.

49. "Report on Present and Future Priorities in Research Effects of Air Pollution," OECD, document for general distribution, Environment Directorate, 1971.

50. "Review of the Work Accomplished or in Progress," Committee on Housing, Building and Planning, ECE document, HBP/R.46, 26 March 1975. Also see "Report of the ad hoc Consultation of Research Workers Dealing with Certain Aspects of the Quality of Life in Human Settlements," ECE Document, HBP/WP.3/GE.1/AC.1/2 and "Report of Experts on Urban and Regional Research, Second ad hoc Consultation of Research Workers dealing with Certain Aspects of the Quality of Life in Urban Settlements," ECE document, HBP/WP3/GE.1/AC.1/4, 8 March 1974.

51. "Council Decision of 8 December, 1975 Establishing a Common Procedure for the Preparation and Constant Updating of a European Inventory of Sources of information on the Environment," Official Journal of the European Communities, Vol. 19, No. 31, 5 February, 1976, p. 8. By 1977 an inventory of 10,000 research projects was completed for International Referral System of UNEP and the list of documentation sources was printed.

52. "Council Regulation of 26 May 1975, on the Creation of a European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions," Official Journal of the European Communities; Vol. 18, No. L 139, 30 May 1975, p. 1.

53. Council Decision of 24 July 1975 Establishing a Common Procedure for the Exchange of Information Between the Surveillance and Monitoring Networks Based on Data Relating to Atmospheric Pollution Caused by Certain Compounds and Suspended Particulates, Official Journal of the European Communities, Vol. 18 No. L 194, 25 July 1975, p. 32-38. By 1979 300 monitoring stations throughout the Community were collecting, transmitting and storing daily data.

54. "Resolution of the OECD Council on 18 May 1971, Concerning a Procedure for Notification and Consultation on Measures for Control of Substances Affecting Man or His Environment." OECD document, C(71)73(Final).

55. "Agreement by the Representatives of the Governments of the Member States Meeting in Council on Information to the Commission with a View to Possible Harmonization Throughout the Community of Urgent Measures Concerning the Environment signed 5 March 1973." Official Journal of the European Communities, Vol. 16, No. C.9, 15 March 1973, p. 1.

56. Other work on education and information includes the organization of a yearly course on applied ecology. Past work includes only one resolution which sets out principles for the introduction of nature conservation into education and a Handbook for Science Students on Air Pollution Problems. Workshops have been held or are planned with the aim of preparing handbooks on environment education in Primary schools and active educational methods. ("Report of the First Meeting of the European Committee's Sub-Committee for Information and Training," (25-26 June 1974), Council of Europe Document Ce/NAT(74)72, pp. 1-3.)

57. Industry, Research and Technology, No. 174, 30 January 1973, p. 6.

58. During the period 1962-69, fifteen Resolutions were adopted: two declarations of principles, nine recommendations of general principles, three recommendations of specific principles, and one recommendation setting out specific guidelines.

59. "Environmental Activities of the Principal International Organizations Working in the ECE Region," ECE document, ENV/R.3, 19 February 1973, p. 15.

60. "Information on Activities of the CMEA Relating to Environment," submitted by the Secretariat of CMEA, ECE document, ENV/conf/H.4, 25 February 1971, p. 8, para. 49.

61. Ibid., p. 9, para. 51.

62. "Information on Activities of the CMEA Relating to Environment," 1971, p. 4, para. 20.

63. Rules of Procedure of the Organization, Paris OECD Publication, April 1973, Rule 18.

64. Regulations are binding immediately upon Member governments. Upon their adoption, they become laws in the member countries and must be put immediately into practice. Directives are binding as to the result to be achieved, but the appropriate form and methods are decided upon nationally. In general, national laws are enacted to implement the directives. Decisions are binding in their entirety upon those to whom they are addressed. (Treaty Establishing the European Economic Community, Chapter 2, article 189.)

65. This includes the Directive of 4 May 1976 on Pollution Caused by Certain Dangerous Substances Discharges into the Aquatic Environment approved in principle in December 1975.

66. Skolnikoff, p. 96.

67. In addition, Art. 130(c) of the Rome Treaty permits the European Investment Bank to contribute to the financemnt of "projects of common interest to several Member States which are of such a size or nature that they cannot be financed by the various means available in the individual member States."

68. "Council Directive of 28 April 1975, on Mountain and Hill Farming and Farming in Certain Less-Favoured Areas," Official Journal of the European Communities, Vol. 18, No. L 128, 19 May 1975, p. 1-7.

69. "Revised Proposal for a Council Directive (EEC) Concerning Forestry Measures," document of the Commission of the European Communities COM(75) 88 final, 7 March 1975.

70. Ibid., p. 10, Article 8.

71. The estimations have been made by the author based on the information contained in the Tables 3-9.

72. See State of Environment Reports.

73. See Acts of OECD's Council Relating to the Environment, Paris, May 1979.

74. "Decisions of the Council concerning Special Programme on the Control of Chemicals, OECD document.

75. Economic Commission for Europe Annual Report (1 May 1977 - 22 April 1978, Economics and Social Council, Official Records, 1978, Supplement 770.7, U.N. publication E/1978/47, New York, p. 109.

76. Ibid.

77. Ibid., pp. 110, 111.

CHAPTER FIVE

COOPERATION AND COORDINATION AMONG INTERGOVERNMENTAL BODIES

The fact that there are many institutions dealing with environmental problems complicates considerably the question of international cooperation. A rational division of jurisdictions, functions, responsibilities and resources is essential if each is to contribute as consistently and constructively as possible to common basic goals. Some of the most important topics to be investigated in this chapter are the cooperative arrangements among secretariats, and governmental procedures for coordinating international programs and policies. The appropriate role of secretariats and governments in the coordination process will also be explored. Finally, suggestions for improving cooperation and coordination are examined.

I. Concepts of Cooperation and Coordination

A. Issues

In an effort to achieve effective cooperation within intergovernmental organizations, governments are faced with a dual problem. First useful work must be agreed upon and carried out within each organization. Given the fact that many international

organizations are working on environmental problems, it is equally important to optimize the distribution of work among organizations. These two objectives are closely related and therefore will be treated together in this chapter, although more emphasis will be given to the relations among organizations.

Efforts made by governments, intergovernmental bodies, and secretariats to arrive at a satisfactory division of work among organizations are generally referred to as cooperation or coordination. Before an attempt is made to define these words more precisely, it is useful to try to identify the reasons for the acuteness of the present concern over cooperation and coordination and the difficulties involved.

This concern among intergovernmental organizations working in related areas is not a new issue. However, the degree has increased in recent years, particularly in matters related to the environment. The most obvious reason is the creation of new organs and subsidiary bodies to deal with environmental problems and the proliferation of environmental activities in both new and old bodies. The number of organizations dealing with such matters and the number of activities have increased the possibility of duplication and inefficient use of resources. The multiplicity of organizations and activities places an increasing burden on governments who find it more and more difficult to supply the necessary diplomatic, technical, administrative, and financial resources. This difficulty is felt most seriously among small countries who find it increasingly difficult to participate effectively in intergovernmental work.¹ It is further complicated by the multi-faceted character of environmental issues. Although the above reasons should be sufficient, the present preoccupation has been strengthened by the urgency and number of environmental problems, the necessity of multi-lateral solutions, and increasing financial restraints. It is, therefore, important to ensure that resources and efforts be used as efficiently as possible.

The increasing preoccupation with coordination reflects the disturbing realization that the results of attempts at achieving real cooperation are

commensurate neither with the efforts and resources expended nor with the urgency of the need for cooperation. There is the uncomfortable realization that the existing methods for achieving coordination are inadequate, and that what is being coordinated are plans or intentions and not actual performance.

In the organizations studied, the time spent eulogizing coordination in no way seems to result in a desire to limit the expansion of their activities. Nor does failure to achieve satisfactory coordination result in immediate dissatisfaction with the performance of the organizations. Discussions on coordination have not been used as a tactic to limit the organizations' effectiveness on substantive issues or as an escape or substitute for action. Quite to the contrary, the maintenance of the image of the organization as effective and efficient seems to be a key concern of governments.²

There are numerous reasons for the difficulty in achieving coordination. One lies in the inherently faulty structures and limitations of decision-making machinery in both IGOs and governments, which inevitably make the methods of coordination of both inefficient and inadequate. Most governments simply have no authoritative, centralized decision-making process for allocating funds or for developing complementary policies and programs priorities for the IGOs in which they are members. A formidable barrier to creating such a process is the fact that the national representatives to the different organizations often come from independent ministries and support the activities of "their" organization in order to influence their position at home and to increase their financial resources at the expense of other ministries.

An inherent difficulty of IGOs is that there is no hierarchical structure within organizations or over the whole range of the organizations. Those structures, which on paper are supposed to be hierarchical, are largely a fiction due to the nature of national delegations to various bodies within and among each organization, as well as to the independent budgets and Governing bodies of the various organizations. As a result, intergovernmental coordination on the intra-organizational as well as the

inter-organizational level is difficult and often ineffective.

As a consequence, the task of coordination is often thought to be the responsibility of secretariats. There are tasks that secretariats must perform to facilitate coordination. Their role, however, in the coordination process can never substitute for, but only complement, that of governments. Secretariats are often interested in self-preservation, which can lead to a tendency to expand activities and to compete with other organizations for projects. This phenomenon provides all the more reason for control of inter-governmental organizations by governments and underlies the importance of a precise definition by governments of the functions of each organization.

The multi-dimensional nature of environmental problems further complicates the process of coordination. Environment cannot be compartmentalized. It is an integral part of many fields of international action. As a consequence, it is the subject of cooperation within a large number of intergovernmental organizations and within numerous subsidiary bodies of each organization. These organizations have a diversity of functional and structural attributes which do not facilitate relationships among them. Furthermore, the complex situation that results from the fact that each organization has a different membership defies a division of labor based on rational control and choice of work between organizations.

In addition, formidable difficulties arise from the inadequate information base available either to governments or to secretariats on the activities of IGOs. There is no centrally assembled information mechanisms at either the governmental or the international level which make it possible to see the activities of one organization in relation to others.⁴ The United Nations Environmental Program was created to help carry out this function.

The imprecise formulation of projects also renders the task of coordination difficult. It is too often hard to identify exactly what an organization is doing or intends to do. Interviews with members of secretariats revealed two other obstacles:

priority is accorded to administrative procedures to the detriment of policy and substantive matters, and resistance exists to coordination when it is identified with control.

B. Definition

1. Goals

Cooperation or coordination among IGOs working in the same field implies a process by which, the activities of the various organizations are drawn up in light of those of other organizations, with the aim of achieving rational programming and the most efficient utilization of resources. This process tries to achieve one or more of four goals:⁵

- (a) Avoiding unnecessary overlap and duplication
- (b) Sharing or synchronizing results
- (c) Developing complementary projects
- (d) Developing cooperative projects

(a) Avoiding unnecessary overlap and duplication is the most commonly cited problem, but true duplication is rare. Organizations cover different aspects or have different objectives and different memberships. The important objective is to avoid overlapping. This occurs when two or more organizations, which consist of States most of which, but not all of which, participate in the organizations, carry out "similar projects which cover much but not all the same ground."⁶ The challenge is to identify and reduce unnecessary overlap. This is complicated by the fact that the "differentiating factors may be perfectly valid and of real substance: if they were not there would be less difficulty."⁷ In the first place, a certain amount of overlap is unavoidable and necessary due to different orientations and memberships of the organizations and due to the different aspects and objectives of their activities. Secondly, some overlap is desirable. This is generally the case for scientific work. On the contrary, overlap in seminars and expert meetings is undesirable. Also in more important areas overlap is sometimes beneficial. The result of stimulating competition among organizations, may reduce

inefficiency. Furthermore, overlap is sometimes intentional: some organizations work faster than others, there are barriers to information in some organizations and political considerations constrain or favor action in certain bodies.

(b) Sharing or synchronization of results takes place between organizations with differing memberships and different objectives, who deal with the same issues. The sharing of results means that the material already produced in other organizations is taken into account in order to facilitate further work and to avoid duplication of preliminary steps. This process involves cooperation or coordination at the implementation stage. In executing their own activities, organizations take into consideration what has already been done elsewhere. Synchronization of results means that arrangements are made after projects of other organizations have been approved or initiated, but before they are completed, so that the results of these projects can be taken into consideration while planning or implementing one's own work program. This activity necessitates the availability of knowledge on the expected results and completion date of activities of other organizations.

(c) The development of complementary projects generally involves cooperation or coordination at the program formulation stage. This means that before programs are formally approved, organizations consult each other to draw up programs which, as a result of division of labor, are more comprehensive. This can also take place at the implementation or executing stage when secretariats, realizing that they are dealing with similar problems, decide to divide their work.

(d) The development of cooperative projects also normally involves cooperation or coordination at the program formulation stage. Two or more organizations draw up projects which are to be carried out either through cooperation between secretariats or through joint committees. In this way, available resources can be shared and enlarged, the participation can be expanded, and issues can be treated more thoroughly. Because these projects involve more than one organization much time is needed to settle organizational and procedural questions. For this reason, the goal

should not be simply to multiply cooperative programs but to make their existence possible in cases where the result and the sharing of resources would justify the extra effort needed for planning.

2. Means

The word coordination generally has the connotation of an authoritative act implying hierarchical procedures where one body has the task of guiding and integrating the actions of various subgroups. Coordination may be a goal or an end in itself of an identifiable group. It is an activity where either an inter-secretariat or inter-governmental group takes specific actions aimed at achieving rationalization of the use of resources and harmonization of policies and programs. Within the United Nations framework this is the task of the Administrative Committee on Coordination (ACC). The major task of UNEP is to coordinate environmental activities of the U.N. system. One difficulty within the U.N. system is that there is no authoritative hierarchical structure over the system as a whole. For the intergovernmental organizations under consideration there is no hierarchical structure at all.

Coordination does not have to be an identifiable activity. It can be an objective or goal, attainable as a result of a given activity. The tools used in this case are informal and are not based on a hierarchical or authoritative system. Coordination can be the result of actions taken by a group, but it is more in the form of voluntary adjustment of activities obtained through adequate information on what others are doing. In this case the body which causes joint consultation is not performing a direct coordination role but the role of facilitating and enabling the performance of such a task. This activity and others are tools which aim at harmonizing programs through mutual interest and benefit. This process can be referred to as either planned cooperation, voluntary coordination, or harmonization.

The goals of both types of coordination are the same but the processes are different. Authoritative coordination is often an unpopular and psychologically

loaded expression. The limitations of the international system are just as important in making this type of coordination unattainable. The same results, however, can be achieved by voluntary coordination and planned cooperation by the actors themselves who perceive a common interest.

3. By Whom?

The next question is by whom or where is the cooperation or coordination to be carried out? This task falls upon both governments and secretariats.

As Walter Sharp points out, the most important level of coordination is the governmental level:

In carrying out the objectives of coordination the principal responsibility rests upon the national governments which compose the policy organs . . . It is these governments which decide upon programs and appropriate the necessary funds. Every time a government is inconsistent, every time departments of the same government issue contradictory instructions, the international agencies to which this government belongs are hampered, retarded, and confused in their work. Unless a coordinated international policy comes out of each of the respective national capitals there can be none at the international level.⁸

"While it would be untrue to maintain that all of the problems of coordination would disappear if each of the governments adopted coherent national stands within all of the institutions of the system, there is little doubt that the lack of a noticeable progress at this level has seriously hampered the efforts of coordination at the other levels."⁹ It is true, however, that only governments have the power to exercise the needed control over inter-governmental bodies through the allocation of funds between organizations and through coherent, integrated policies toward these organizations.

At the intergovernmental level, coordination can be achieved first in the intergovernmental bodies of each organization. Although this coordination generally consists of integration of the tasks within the individual organization or intraorganizational coordination, the various national policies toward other relevant organizations can be integrated in this context. This coordination is facilitated when the participants are instructed about their country's global policy and especially when the participants also attend meetings of other organizations on the same subject. Intergovernmental coordination can also take place in interministerial conferences, either under the auspices of one organization or independently.

Although governments and secretariats recognize that coordination starts at the national level, difficulties encountered by governments in setting up the necessary decision-making machinery have led them to repeatedly appeal to secretariats to consult with each other before undertaking action. Governments are thus attempting to pass part of the responsibility for coordination to the secretariats. Even though national governments cannot escape the main responsibility for inter-organizational coordination of environmental policies, the secretariats have an indispensable role to play both in relation to work within their own organizations and at the inter-organizational level. Allowing for the constraints of intergovernmental decisions, secretariats can significantly influence coordination through their responsibility for initiating program proposals. Intergovernmental committees lack the necessary mechanisms to propose and maintain priorities and integrated programs. The mechanism to carry out these tasks must be furnished by the secretariats.¹⁰ Secretariats can further influence coordination through their responsibility for carrying out the programs once approved by the intergovernmental governing body.¹¹ At the executive stage secretariats can coordinate their activities. They also have a vital role to play in furnishing and organizing information about their activities in a form usable and accessible both to themselves and to governments. Such a role is only in its initial stages and will be discussed more thoroughly later.

II. Methods and Results

The next task is to describe and evaluate the existing methods of governmental and secretariat cooperation and coordination. The analysis will concentrate on the efforts made by secretariats, who have developed extensive relationships among themselves to facilitate the cooperative process. In general, the relationships are friendly and informal. This stems partly from the fact that the organizations under study are not out looking for work. Their work programs are heavy compared to the resources available, and they realize that it is in their mutual interest to divide work. Although there is no overt rivalry or antagonism at lower levels, there is a certain amount of tacit competition at the top. As one secretariat member explained, it is a question of being first to get interesting projects. There is also a certain amount of sensitivity when one organization has been working on a project for several years and then finds that another decides to do more or less the same thing. The ample work programs of each organization should leave little reason for competition. In general, secretariats are stimulated to search for arrangements among themselves by which they can share work.

A. Bilateral Cooperation and Coordination Among Secretariats

This section examines the types of bilateral cooperative arrangements that exist among the secretariats of the various intergovernmental organizations and the results of these arrangements.

1. Practical Cooperative Arrangements

A table has been developed which plots the various types of bilateral cooperative arrangements against seven organizations. A table indicates for each organization the type of cooperation carried

out with each of the other organizations. (See Tables 14-18, pp. 176-185.) A composite table shows the number of organizations with which each has the listed arrangements. (See Table 19, pp. 186-187)

Examination of the tables shows that bilateral discussions between directors of environment divisions or between their staff working on specific projects take place between all organizations having working relations. These meetings are often arranged informally when a member of one secretariat is attending the meeting of another or is in town for other reasons. Efforts are often made by the staff of one organization to have discussion with their corresponding members when a new program is being launched.

No examples were found of discussions between three or more secretariats on general policy at the director level outside the inter-secretariat meetings to be discussed later. There are many consultations involving more than two secretariats on specific activities between the officials most directly concerned.¹²

Documentation is exchanged either regularly or selectively between all organizations having formal or informal relations. There is even an informal selective exchange of documentation between the Secretariat of CMEA and the Commission of the European Communities. Most of the documentation of the European Communities is restricted to the use of the member States. This restriction applies especially to studies and reports. The secretariats of the other organizations thus never receive these directly from the Commission, although they can obtain them through common national participants.

The prior consultation of draft work programs takes place only among U. N. bodies.¹³ Meetings of the UNEP Environment Coordination Board¹⁴ are held where the U. N. Agencies and the Economic Commissions comment on each other's work program proposals. The secretariats of non-U. N. organizations often exchange draft work programs before approval for information, but not for comments. This is the case between most of the organizations being studied.

TABLE 14

BILATERAL COOPERATIVE ARRANGEMENTS AMONG SECRETARIATS

COUNCIL OF EUROPE

	C of E	OECD	ECE	EC	CMEA	WHO EURO	UNEP
I. INFORMAL ARRANGEMENTS							
<u>Personal Contacts</u>							
1. Bilateral discussions at director level on general problems and policy		X	X	X			X
2. Bilateral discussions on specific problems between officials most directly concerned		X	X	X		X	
3. Discussions at director level on general problems and policy among more than two secretariats*							
4. Discussions on specific problems between officials most directly concerned among more than two secretariats*		X	X	X			X
<u>Exchange of Documentation</u>							
5. Regular exchange of documentation to							X
from							X
6. Selective exchange of documentation to		X	X	X			
from		X	X	X			
<u>Review of Other Organizations'</u>							
<u>Work Programs **</u>							
7. Advance communication of other organizations' work programs		X	X				X

TABLE 14 (cont.)

BILATERAL COOPERATIVE ARRANGEMENTS AMONG SECRETARIATS
COUNCIL OF EUROPE

	C of E	OECD	ECE	EC	CMEA	WHO EURO	UNEP
II. FORMAL ARRANGEMENTS							
<u>Participation at Other Organizations' Meetings ***</u>							
8. Regular participation							
9. Selective participation		X	X				
10. Rare participation						X	X
11. Secretariat addresses intergovernmental meetings of other organizations		X	X				X
<u>Organizational Arrangements Services</u>							
12. Permanent liaison arrange- ments between secretariats							
13. Joint services							
14. Supplementary staffing arrangements							
15. Joint secretariat divisions							
16. Joint intergovernmental committees							

* This does not include multilateral intersecretariat meetings

** Receives the work programs of the organizations listed

*** Participates in the meetings of the organizations listed

TABLE 15
BILATERAL COOPERATIVE ARRANGEMENTS AMONG SECRETARIATS
OECD

	C of E	OECD	ECE	EC	CMEA	WHO EURO	UNEP
I. INFORMAL ARRANGEMENTS							
<u>Personal Contacts</u>							
1. Bilateral discussions at director level on general problems and policy	X		X	X		X	X
2. Bilateral discussions on specific problems between officials most directly concerned	X		X	X		X	X
3. Discussions at director level on general problems and policy among more than two secretariats*							
4. Discussions on specific problems between officials most directly concerned among more than two secretariats*	X		X	X		X	X
<u>Exchange of Documentation</u>							
5. Regular exchange of documentation							
to			X	X			X
from			X				X
6. Selective exchange of documentation							
to	X			X		X	
from	X					X	
<u>Review of Other Organizations'</u>							
<u>Work Programs **</u>							
7. Advance communication of other organizations' work programs			X	X			X

TABLE 15 (cont.)

BILATERAL COOPERATIVE ARRANGEMENTS AMONG SECRETARIATS

OECD

	C of E	OECD	ECE	EC	CMEA	WHO EURO	UNEP
II. FORMAL ARRANGEMENTS							
<u>Participation at Other Organizations' Meetings ***</u>							
8. Regular participation			X				
9. Selective participation	X			X		X	X
10. Rare participation							
11. Secretariat addresses intergovernmental meetings of other organizations	X		X	X		X	X
<u>Organizational Arrangements Services</u>							
12. Permanent liaison arrange- ments between secretariats							
13. Joint services							
14. Supplementary staffing arrangements							
15. Joint secretariat divisions							
16. Joint intergovernmental committees							

* This does not include multilateral intersecretariat meetings

** Receives the work programs of the organizations listed

*** Participates in the meetings of the organizations listed

TABLE 16

BILATERAL COOPERATIVE ARRANGEMENTS AMONG SECRETARIATS

ECE

	C of E	OECD	ECE	EC	CMEA	WHO EURO	UNEP
I. INFORMAL ARRANGEMENTS							
<u>Personal Contacts</u>							
1. Bilateral discussions at director level on general problems and policy	X	X		X	X	X	X
2. Bilateral discussions on specific problems between officials most directly concerned	X	X		X	X	X	X
3. Discussions at director level on general problems and policy among more than two secretariats*							
4. Discussions on specific problems between officials most directly concerned among more than two secretariats*	X	X		X			X
<u>Exchange of Documentation</u>							
5. Regular exchange of documentation							
to		X		X			X
from		X					X
6. Selective exchange of documentation							
to	X				X	X	
from	X				X	X	
<u>Review of Other Organizations'</u>							
<u>Work Programs **</u>							
7. Advance communication of other organizations' work programs	X	X		X	X	X	X

TABLE 16 (cont.)
BILATERAL COOPERATIVE ARRANGEMENTS AMONG SECRETARIATS
ECE

	C of E	OECD	ECE	EC	CMEA	WHO EURO	UNEP
II. FORMAL ARRANGEMENTS							
<u>Participation at Other Organizations' Meetings</u> ***							
8. Regular participation		X					
9. Selective participation	X					X	X
10. Rare participation					X		
11. Secretariat addresses intergovernmental meetings of other organizations	X	X			X	X	X
<u>Organizational Arrangements Services</u>							
12. Permanent liaison arrangements between secretariats							
13. Joint services							
14. Supplementary staffing arrangements							X
15. Joint secretariat divisions							
16. Joint intergovernmental committees							

* This does not include multilateral intersecretariat meetings

** Receives the work programs of the organizations listed

*** Participates in the meetings of the organizations listed

TABLE 17
BILATERAL COOPERATIVE ARRANGEMENTS AMONG SECRETARIATS
EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES

	C of E	OECD	ECE	EC	CMEA	WHO EURO	UNEP
I. INFORMAL ARRANGEMENTS							
<u>Personal Contacts</u>							
1. Bilateral discussions at director level on general problems and policy	X	X	X				X
2. Bilateral discussions on specific problems between officials most directly concerned	X	X	X			X	X
3. Discussions at director level on general problems and policy among more than two secretariats*							
4. Discussions on specific problems between officials most directly concerned among more than two secretariats*	X	X	X				X
<u>Exchange of Documentation</u>							
5. Regular exchange of documentation to from		X	X				
6. Selective exchange of documentation to from	X	X				X	X
<u>Review of Other Organizations' Work Programs **</u>							
7. Advance communication of other organizations' work programs		X	X			X	X

TABLE 17 (cont.)
BILATERAL COOPERATIVE ARRANGEMENTS AMONG SECRETARIATS

EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES

	C of E	OECD	ECE	EC	CMEA	WHO EURO	UNEP
II. FORMAL ARRANGEMENTS							
<u>Participation at Other Organizations' Meetings</u> ***							
8. Regular participation		X	X				X
9. Selective participation	X					X	
10. Rare participation							
11. Secretariat addresses intergovernmental meetings of other organizations	X	X	X			X	X
<u>Organizational Arrangements Services</u>							
12. Permanent liaison arrange- ments between secretariats							
13. Joint services							
14. Supplementary staffing arrangements							
15. Joint secretariat divisions							
16. Joint intergovernmental committees							

* This does not include multilateral intersecretariat meetings

** Receives the work programs of the organizations listed

*** Participates in the meetings of the organizations listed

TABLE 18

BILATERAL COOPERATIVE ARRANGEMENTS AMONG SECRETARIATS

CMEA

	C of E	OECD	ECE	EC	CMEA	WHO EURO	UNEP
I. INFORMAL ARRANGEMENTS							
<u>Personal Contacts</u>							
1. Bilateral discussions at director level on general problems and policy			X				X
2. Bilateral discussions on specific problems between officials most directly concerned			X				X
3. Discussions at director level on general problems and policy among more than two secretariats*							
4. Discussions on specific problems between officials most directly concerned among more than two secretariats*							
<u>Exchange of Documentation</u>							
5. Regular exchange of documentation to							
from							
6. Selective exchange of documentation to			X				X
from			X				X
<u>Review of Other Organizations'</u>							
<u>Work Programs **</u>							
7. Advance communication of other organizations' work programs			X				X

TABLE 18 (cont.)
BILATERAL COOPERATIVE ARRANGEMENTS AMONG SECRETARIATS

	CMEA						WHO
	C of E	OECD	ECE	EC	CMEA	EURO	UNEP
II. FORMAL ARRANGEMENTS							
<u>Participation at Other Organizations' Meetings</u> ***							
8. Regular participation							
9. Selective participation			X				X
10. Rare participation							
11. Secretariat addresses intergovernmental meetings of other organizations			X				X
<u>Organizational Arrangements Services</u>							
12. Permanent liaison arrangements between secretariats							
13. Joint services							
14. Supplementary staffing arrangements							
15. Joint secretariat divisions							
16. Joint intergovernmental committees							

* This does not include multilateral intersecretariat meetings

** Receives the work programs of the organizations listed

*** Participates in the meetings of the organizations listed

TABLE 19

BILATERAL COOPERATIVE ARRANGEMENTS AMONG SECRETARIATS

SUMMARY +

	C of E	OECD	ECE	EC	CMEA	WHO EURO	UNEP
I. INFORMAL ARRANGEMENTS							
<u>Personal Contacts</u>							
1. Bilateral discussions at director level on general problems and policy	4	5	6	4	2		
2. Bilateral discussions on specific problems between officials most directly concerned	4	5	6	5	2		
3. Discussions at director level on general problems and policy among more than two secretariats*							
4. Discussions on specific problems between officials most directly concerned among more than two secretariats*	4	5	4	4			
<u>Exchange of Documentation</u>							
5. Regular exchange of documentation							
to	1	3	3				
from	1	2	2	2			
6. Selective exchange of documentation							
to	3	3	3	1	2		
from	3	2	3	3	2		
<u>Review of Other Organizations'</u>							
<u>Work Programs **</u>							
7. Advance communication of other organizations' work programs	3	3	6	4	2		

TABLE 19 (cont.)
BILATERAL COOPERATIVE ARRANGEMENTS AMONG SECRETARIATS
SUMMARY ⁺

	C of E	OECD	ECE	EC	CMEA	WHO EURO	UNEP
II. FORMAL ARRANGEMENTS							
<u>Participation at Other Organizations' Meetings ***</u>							
8. Regular participation		1	1	3			
9. Selective participation	2	4	3	2	2		
10. Rare participation	2		1				
11. Secretariat addresses intergovernmental meetings of other organizations	3	5	5	5	2		
<u>Organizational Arrangements Services</u>							
12. Permanent liaison arrangements between secretariats							
13. Joint services							
14. Supplementary staffing arrangements			1				
15. Joint secretariat divisions							
16. Joint intergovernmental committees							

* This does not include multilateral intersecretariat meetings

** Receives the work programs of the organizations listed

*** Participates in the meetings of the organizations listed

+ The numbers refer to the number of organizations with which the given organization has the indicated cooperative arrangement.

Formal reciprocal arrangements for participation at each other's meetings exist between the Council of Europe, ECE, OECD, WHO-Europe, and UNEP. The Commission of the European Communities also attends the meetings of the above organizations, although no organization has reciprocal rights. The Commission takes part in the meetings of the OECD as a full member with voting rights. The CMEA regularly participates in the meetings of ECE and UNEP, although ECE and UNEP seldom go to CMEA meetings. The rare participation by ECE in CMEA meetings can be explained partly by budgetary limitations.

It is often the accepted procedure for secretariat members to address intergovernmental committee meetings of another organization concerning their relevant activities. In fact, this right is never or rarely denied. At the technical groups of OECD, WHO-Europe, Council of Europe, and ECE, the attending secretariats often participate actively in the discussions.

Effective formal organizational arrangements and services exist only between ECE and UNEP.¹⁵ They have supplementary staffing arrangements: two professional and two general service posts were assigned to ECE by UNEP to help carry out projects and activities of mutual interest.

The most common forms of cooperative arrangements are personal contracts, exchange of documentation, and participation in each other's meetings. All secretariat members agree that direct contact with their colleagues is the most effective method. These contacts are best carried out between administrators directly responsible for the work. General discussions at the director level are useful, but do not achieve the same results. In sum, personal contacts can go a long way in facilitating cooperation between organizations. Although attendance at each other's meetings is also considered very useful, it is too time-consuming and expensive to be used as much as secretariats would like. Exchange of documentation is useful as a supplement to the above. Secretariat contacts are, of course, complemented by the exchange of information through common delegates to the meetings of different organizations.

2. Results of the Cooperative Arrangements

The results of the cooperative arrangements are the subject of a second table (see Table 20-24, pp. 190-4). A composite table (Table 25, pp. 195) summarizes the number of organizations with which cooperative arrangements with the given organization have resulted in the indicated type of cooperation and coordination. The following discussion analyses the types of coordination and cooperation achieved.

(1) Information exchange

This includes the information that secretariats obtain about the activities of other organs and furnish to others.

(2) Avoiding unnecessary overlap and duplication

The work programs of other organizations are taken into account while formulating one's own program proposals in order to avoid unnecessary overlap and duplication.

Informal coordination of work

(3) Agreeing to share work

(4) Sharing results

(5) Synchronizing results

(Both 4 and 5 concern the use of the results of one organization as a basis for work by another, however 5 implies a time element.)

(6) Carrying out complementary activities

Formal cooperative projects and meetings

(7) Cooperation among secretariats in the preparation, servicing, and follow-up of meetings

(8) Joint Meetings, seminars, symposia

(9) Joint reports and studies

TABLE 20
RESULTS OF THE COOPERATIVE ARRANGEMENTS
COUNCIL OF EUROPE

	C of E	OECD	ECE	EC	CMEA	WHO EURO	UNEP
1. Information exchange		X	X	X		X	X
2. Avoiding unnecessary overlap and duplication		X	X	X		X	X
<u>Informal Coordination of Work</u>							
3. Agreeing to share work		X	X	X			
4. Sharing results				X			
5. Synchronizing results							
6. Carrying out complementary activities							
<u>Formal Cooperative Projects and Meetings</u>							
7. Cooperation among secretariats in the preparation, servicing, and follow-up of meetings							
8. Joint meetings, seminars, symposia							
9. Joint reports, studies, and projects							
10. Contribution of studies and papers to meetings and seminars organized by other secretariats							

TABLE 21

RESULTS OF THE COOPERATIVE ARRANGEMENTS
OECD

	C of E	OECD	ECE	EC	CMEA	WHO EURO	UNEP
1. Information exchange	X		X	X		X	X
2. Avoiding unnecessary overlap and duplication	X		X	X		X	X
<u>Informal Coordination of Work</u>							
3. Agreeing to share work	X		X	X		X	
4. Sharing results				X			
5. Synchronizing results				X			X
6. Carrying out complementary activities				X			
<u>Formal Cooperative Projects and Meetings</u>							
7. Cooperation among secretariats in the preparation, servicing, and follow-up of meetings							
8. Joint meetings, seminars, symposia							
9. Joint reports, studies, and projects							
10. Contribution of studies and papers to meetings and seminars organized by other secretariats							

TABLE 22
RESULTS OF THE COOPERATIVE ARRANGEMENTS
ECE

	C of E	OECD	ECE	EC	CMEA	WHO EURO	UNEP
1. Information exchange	X	X		X	X	X	X
2. Avoiding unnecessary overlap and duplication	X	X		X	X	X	X
<u>Informal Coordination of Work</u>							
3. Agreeing to share work							X
4. Sharing results	X	X				X	X
5. Synchronizing results							
6. Carrying out complementary activities						X	X
<u>Formal Cooperative Projects and Meetings</u>							
7. Cooperation among secretariats in the preparation, servicing, and follow-up of meetings							X
8. Joint meetings, seminars, symposia					X		X
9. Joint reports, studies, and projects						X	
10. Contribution of studies and papers to meetings and seminars organized by other secretariats							

TABLE 23
RESULTS OF THE COOPERATIVE ARRANGEMENTS
EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES

	C of E	OECD	ECE	EC	CMEA	WHO EURO	UNEP
1. Information exchange	X	X	X		X	X	X
2. Avoiding unnecessary overlap and duplication	X	X	X			X	X
<u>Informal Coordination of Work</u>							
3. Agreeing to share work	X	X	X			X	
4. Sharing results	X	X				X	
5. Synchronizing results		X					
6. Carrying out complementary activities		X					X
<u>Formal Cooperative Projects and Meetings</u>							
7. Cooperation among secretariats in the preparation, servicing, and follow-up of meetings							
8. Joint meetings, seminars, symposia						X	
9. Joint reports, studies, and projects							
10. Contribution of studies and papers to meetings and seminars organized by other secretariats							

TABLE 24
RESULTS OF THE COOPERATIVE ARRANGEMENTS
CMEA

	C of E	OECD	ECE	EC	CMEA	WHO EURO	UNEP
1. Information exchange			X	X			X
2. Avoiding unnecessary overlap and duplication			X				X
<u>Informal Coordination of Work</u>							
3. Agreeing to share work							
4. Sharing results							
5. Synchronizing results							
6. Carrying out complementary activities							
<u>Formal Cooperative Projects and Meetings</u>							
7. Cooperation among secretariats in the preparation, servicing, and follow-up of meetings							
8. Joint meetings, seminars, symposia				X			
9. Joint reports, studies, and projects							
10. Contribution of studies and papers to meetings and seminars organized by other secretariats							

TABLE 25
RESULTS OF THE COOPERATIVE ARRANGEMENTS
SUMMARY*

	C of E	OECD	ECE	EC	CMEA	WHO EURO	UNEP
1. Information exchange	5	5	6	6	3		
2. Avoiding unnecessary overlap and duplication	5	5	6	5	2		
<u>Informal Coordination of Work</u>							
3. Agreeing to share work	3	4	1	4			
4. Sharing results	1	2	4	3			
5. Synchronizing results		1		1			
6. Carrying out complementary activities		1	2	2			
<u>Formal Cooperative Projects and Meetings</u>							
7. Cooperation among secretariats in the preparation, servicing, and follow-up of meetings			1				
8. Joint meetings, seminars, symposia			2	1	1		
9. Joint reports, studies, and projects			1				
10. Contribution of studies and papers to meetings and seminars organized by other secretariats							

*The numbers refer to the number of organizations with which the cooperative arrangements with the given organization have resulted in the indicated type of cooperation and coordination.

- (10) Contribution of studies and papers to meetings and seminars organized by other secretariats. (Written statements of activities are not included.)

(1) Information is exchanged, formally or informally, between the secretariats of almost all the organizations. The relationships are close enough and the contacts frequent between secretariats to ensure that the exchange of information is adequate. The number of organizations working on environmental problems and the rapid expansion of activities, however constrains the current ad hoc methods. Even when the present exchange of information is adequate, and especially when it is not, there are two basic problems: the form of this information and the time it takes to assemble and analyse it. There is no systematic way of receiving information in a form which is readily usable and understandable. This is a global problem which will be discussed in depth later.

(2) Avoiding unnecessary overlap and duplication is one of the major goals of cooperative efforts. Overt duplication cannot be considered a problem among the organization under study. This is not because the objectives and memberships are so different but because concerted efforts have been made to this end. This has happened ironically because of the very similar mandates of the European intergovernmental organizations and the resulting potential for overlap. The awareness of the possibilities for overlap has led secretariat members to devote special attention to avoiding it. To a large extent, they have been successful; where it does exist, it is generally either deliberate, necessary, useful or politically motivated.

There are certain cases, however, where its usefulness could be questioned. One example involves inquiries on the effects of pollution caused by the generation of electricity and the operation of power plants. All the organizations being studied have activities on this subject. The basic problem in this and in similar cases, is that the studies are initially intended to cover the different aspects but in the end they do not concentrate on these aspects. The studies start with basic information about the

subject, and do not succeed in overcoming generalities. As a consequence, they bring little new information to bear on the issue. The problem in these cases is the usefulness of the cooperation itself.

Sometimes different projects on the same subject are carried out by two or more organizations, for example work on toxic chemical wastes. The difficulty here goes beyond the simple avoidance of duplication and overlap. There may be no duplication but there may still be waste of resources. When several organizations work on the same problem an attempt to avoid duplication often results in unnecessary work. The point is that the sum of the resources used by the various organizations could be spent differently and more efficiently.

There are other examples where the same idea is put before several bodies. This procedure is done purposefully by certain governments in order to see what ideas each can produce. Testing the capabilities of each organization is perhaps valid, but it does cause a certain amount of complications between the organizations and secretariats. This procedure is also done for political reasons when a delegate has instructions to try to secure agreement in any or every forum possible. The use of IGOs for political purposes conflicts with the rational utilization of resources.

There are times when the same studies are undertaken by different organizations for different objectives. Such cases exist between the European Communities and the Council of Europe. Studies and work on mammals threatened with extinction, endangered bird species, biogenic reserves, and landscape criteria have been important aspects of the Council of Europe work program for many years. The European Communities has been making studies on the same topics in order to prepare for Community legislation. Although the Commission is careful to use the Council of Europe work as much as possible, it must be adapted to the needs of the Community and to the objective of drawing up Community measures. Given the all-European nature of these problems, it should be asked whether they are not better solved in a larger context. The trade-off is between a large group of

countries and the weak legal instruments of the Council of Europe and the more binding measures for the nine of the European communities. In any case, irrespective of any other solution, the European Communities must tackle these and other issues in the framework of the Nine.

Obviously, there is no simple solution to the above types of overlap, even though very valid questions are raised as to what constitutes necessary overlap. What is clear is that no tidy division of work is possible. The European organizations have generally succeeded in avoiding duplication and partially succeeded in avoiding unnecessary overlap among themselves, but this does not mean that this situation will continue. Neither does it imply that overlap and duplication have been or will be avoided when U. N. bodies are taken into consideration.

(3) Examples of successful informal coordination of work have not been particularly numerous considering the number of activities in related areas. Efforts to share work have been the most common informal arrangement among the Council of Europe, ECE, EC, and OECD. The directors of the environmental division of these organizations have been in contact with each other from the beginning in order to delineate and clarify the general outlines of the programs of each.¹⁶ As the needs of governments and specialization of projects increase, there will be an even greater need to divide responsibilities.

(4) The results of activities have been shared to the extent that secretariats have been aware that relevant studies exist. This arrangement of sharing often involves extensive efforts on the part of secretariats to track down interesting completed work. All organizations state that they take the work of others into account. In the last few years the work programs have referred to relevant work in other organizations. Practically, however, it is sometimes the case that the results of others are often not even understood and the learning process has to be restarted. There are, however, some important exceptions.

In drawing up their directives, the European Communities use as much as possible the studies

already carried out by other organizations. Notably they have used the OECD studies on the pulp and paper industry, PBCs, and anionic detergents. They were able to synchronize the preparation of a directive on non-ionic detergents with the development of measurement methods by OECD. Now an active participant in OECD meetings, the Commission plans to be able to synchronize its work with that of the OECD even more in the future. The Commission has also used the Council of Europe studies on threatened mammals, endangered bird species, landscape criteria, and biogenic reserves for its own studies on these subjects. It tries to use the quality criteria worked out by WHO. The problem is that the WHO sets global norms which must be substantially reworked to be adapted to the needs and goals of the Nine. As was stated above, the Council of Europe and the Commission have tried to share and synchronize activities relating to water quality norms, in particular between the expert groups working out the norms for various types of water.

The emission survey of the OECD on long-range transport of air pollutants was expanded by the ECE to cover the whole of Europe. In fact, the OECD work on sulfur dioxide emissions laid the international foundations for the ECE draft convention on long-range transboundary air pollution. The OECD Resolution on transfrontier pollution set out some of the major guidelines and principles for the ECE Convention and for the resolution of the European Parliament on transfrontier pollution.

(5) It is much more difficult to find actual examples of synchronization of results. In order to synchronize activities secretariats must know the expected results and intended completion date of activities of other organizations. Most organizations do not have this information about their own work or it is not formulated in such a way as to be easily available to others.

(6) Examples of complementary projects are even more scarce, and none were found that were developed at the program formulation stage. Examples include use by the European Communities of OECD studies as a basis for directives. The Water Committee of the ECE arranged to translate the CMEA glossary on water

management into French and English. The Air Management Sector Group of the OECD sponsored an ad hoc meeting of measurement experts on international comparability of air pollution in order to help in the work of the WHO International Reference Centre for Air Pollution Control. The idea of formal cooperative projects is new, and actual cases are hard to find.

(7) No examples were found of preparation, servicing, and follow-up of meetings except for the joint UNEP/ECE Meeting on Environmental Problems in the European Region.

(8) There are a few examples of joint meetings, seminars, or symposia. A seminar held in Poland in 1976 on Pollution in the Coal Industry was jointly sponsored by ECE, UNEP, and CMEA. This is the first time these three organizations jointly sponsored a seminar. The European Commission, WHO, and the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency jointly sponsored the symposium on the Effects of Pollution on Vegetation in 1977.

(9) Only a few joint reports and studies have been carried out. The Secretariats of the European Regional Office of WHO and ECE are cooperating on the preparation of a manual on air quality related to industrial air pollution.

(10) No organization has contributed studies or papers to meetings and seminars organized by other secretariats.

Summarizing, bilateral arrangements have been sufficient for the exchange of information and for the avoidance of unnecessary overlap and duplication only between organizations which maintain close contacts. Within these organizations there has also been a certain amount of agreement to share work and results. These bilateral secretariat arrangements have, however, been successful in achieving coordination only at the implementation stage. They have been unsuccessful in obtaining cooperation at the stage in which programs are formulated, i.e., in the development of complementary activities and cooperative projects or in obtaining cooperation which must be arranged before projects are completed, as is the

case for synchronization of results. Of course the obstacles to cooperation at the program formulation stage are significantly greater than those at the executing stage. Essentially the former must involve governments, since they decide upon the program of each organization. Secretariats willing to cooperate could, however, jointly advance complementary project proposals to their inter-governmental bodies.

Bilateral intersecretariat cooperation raises difficulties which are not always easy to overcome. The implementation of cooperative arrangements is time-consuming and expensive. Each organization must analyze for itself the activities of other bodies. Personal contacts, exchange of documentation, and attendance at each other's meetings are fruitful methods of communicating, but the growth of environmental activities is beginning to strain the organizations' capacity to continue these methods. Although none of the secretariat members interviewed thought that disproportionate time and energy was being spent on cooperation, they did admit that they would do more given additional resources. Relying on personal contacts is difficult because unless one goes to the meetings, these contacts break down with a change of staff. Communication is hard between organizations where the secretariats do not have direct or frequent contact.¹⁷ Distinguishing intentions from reality in the programs of some organizations presents difficulties. A topic is often put on the list of future priorities, but future work never begins.

There are also limitations to using the studies of others. If the cooperation has broader objectives and covers a larger geographical area, as is the case for WHO health criteria for the European Communities, it is either not applicable or must be substantially revised. Second, it is difficult to take another body's final report and find the applicable or useful results. It is frequently stated that only those who accompany all the stages of work can fully understand and utilize the outcome. This situation could be partly overcome if the objectives and conclusions of reports were clearly and precisely stated at all stages.

There are specific difficulties concerning cooperation with the European Communities. The legal

nature of their working procedures does not allow others to attend their meetings. Reports and studies are confidential until the final stages of the decision-making process. They can, however, often be obtained through national representatives. The secretariats of the organizations with whom the Commission works cannot ask for reciprocal arrangements concerning meetings and documents. In sum, this means that secretariats of other organizations cannot participate in community work and that cooperation is essentially one-way. Although the EC makes major contributions at the working level through its active participation in other meetings, these restrictions may explain a certain number of misunderstandings.

As far as relations with the CMEA are concerned, its administrative procedures sometimes impede participation, as well as other types of cooperation. In the early 1970's if it wanted to invite a member of another secretariat to attend one of its meetings, written agreement had to be obtained from all member States. This procedure took approximately three months, and agreement was not always forth coming. Procedures for the participation of the UNEP Secretariat were still being discussed in the fall of 1975. Since this time this problem has been solved and UNEP and ECE are invited regularly to attend some CMEA meetings.

The above resumé of the actual cooperative activities between the governmental organizations shows immediately the unexploited potential. There are several reasons which make this cooperation not only beneficial but necessary. One is the different functional nature of the organizations. For example, the OECD is suited to carrying out analytical studies. The European Community can give an operational follow-up to the scientific work done by other organizations (and itself) because it has its own legislative authority enabling it to adopt binding provisions. UNESCO can carry out basic research which the Council of Europe is unable to do, and the Council of Europe can draw up appropriate conventions for the European region. Although the different capabilities of each organization are unfortunately not often so clear cut, there are nevertheless certain definite areas of functional complementarity which should be taken advantage of.

The second reason is the different substantive orientations of the organizations. The OECD, European Communities, ECE, and CMEA are economic organizations; in environment, the Council of Europe concentrates on nature conservation and natural resources; WHO works on health related aspects. Again there is overlapping competence, but where there is substantive complementarity it should be respected. This is not always the case. If it were, certain projects would be restricted to appropriate organizations. Instead, there is often a tendency for organizations to spread their work over all areas. For instance, the preparation of the manual on air pollutants from industrial sources does not seem to be an appropriate project for the European Regional Office of WHO, even though there will be secretariat cooperation with ECE.¹⁸ Emissions from industry, control techniques for different pollutants, and regional planning (some of the subjects to be treated) hardly seem to be directly related to health aspects, although there are health aspects which require urgent study. Second, the substantive complementarity should be exploited to complement the work done on specific problems. An idea developed later is that there are eight general aspects that are more or less a part of all specific problems. They are economics; technology; energy and natural resource utilization; ecology; trade; policy, planning and management; health; and social and human factors. Different organizations could be entrusted with the implementation of different aspects of specific programs. But one must first answer the question: by whom and how is this division of work to be decided?

The third reason is to be found in the different memberships of each organization. The ECE is the only organization which includes both Eastern and Western European countries. It should thus concentrate on questions of an all-European nature. The OECD, the Council of Europe, the EC and CMEA are in a position to undertake work which is relevant to the sub-regions. Of course, there is much overlapping of memberships which creates very complex situations, but when relevant, this factor should be fully taken into consideration. When organizations have different or overlapping memberships cooperative activities can serve to enlarge the audience reached.

The fourth reason which makes cooperation beneficial and necessary is the limited amount of resources available to carry out work on an almost unlimited amount of problems. There is enough work for all multilateral bodies and division of labor is necessary in order to economize limited resources. There is thus wide scope for cooperation and coordination among organizations. Unfortunately, because of the restraints placed on secretariats, lack of time, resources, and guidance from member governments, they do only what is necessary to avoid overlap and duplication among the organizations for which this is most likely. Otherwise, there is a tendency to become self-contained and preoccupied essentially with one's own activities. Of course, there are limits to how much time and effort should be spent on cooperation and coordination with other organizations, as this should not impede progress in one's own program. These are the very reasons why more effective cooperative methods are needed.

Clearly the present methods are inadequate for achieving much meaningful cooperation beyond the exchange of information and the avoidance of overlap. Even for the latter, the methods are becoming quickly outmoded and increasingly insufficient, especially when other organizations are included. In order to overcome some of the lacunae of bilateral cooperation, certain efforts have been made to develop multilateral inter-secretariat arrangements to facilitate cooperation among organizations. These multilateral arrangements are considered next.

B. Multilateral Inter-Secretariat Cooperation

Recognizing the limitations of bilateral cooperative arrangements, secretariats of U.N. bodies, intergovernmental organizations, and some non-governmental organizations have made several attempts at organizing multilateral inter-secretariat meetings to facilitate the cooperative process. The two most important examples which will be discussed in depth are the Inter-Secretariat Meeting on Water Pollution and Related Water Questions in Europe and the Inter-Secretariat Meeting on Environmental Problems in the European Region. As they include representatives

of specialized agencies, various U.N. bodies, several other intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations it is now obviously necessary to expand our discussion to include other institutions operating in the European region.

1. Inter-Secretariat Meetings on Water Pollution and Related Water Questions in Europe

The two-day Inter-Secretariat Meetings on Water Pollution and Related Water Questions in Europe (referred to hereafter as the Inter-Secretariat Meetings on Water) are attended by the Secretariats of eight U.N. bodies,¹⁹ four intergovernmental organizations (EEC, CMEA, OECD and Council of Europe), and seven non-governmental organizations.²⁰

The meetings have three practical aims:

- (a) to draw up a consolidated list of future meetings including conferences, congresses, symposia, and seminars, as well as regular sessions of intergovernmental bodies primarily concerned with water;
- (b) to arrange for the mutual exchange of publications free of charge as well as of restricted documents; and
- (c) to identify projects of mutual interest and make arrangements for joint follow-up actions after the meeting through bi- or multilateral contracts.²¹

The Inter-Secretariat Meetings on Water have been convened by the ECE Secretariat since 1961²² and since 1974 they have been held in close cooperation with the UNEP Secretariat. Although the ECE provides common services such as preparing and distributing the agenda and the results of the meetings, it participates as an equal member in the meetings; the services it performs in no way indicate any special status. The decisions to convene meetings are taken at the previous meeting and the agenda and results of each meeting are decided upon and approved at the

meeting itself.²³ The meetings have no links with any other governmental or non-governmental organs and therefore have no reporting obligations.

The Inter-Secretariat Meetings on Water are a voluntary tool for the harmonization of activities. There is no legal basis, or rigid framework. They are institutionalized only in the sense that a system of practical procedures has developed and continued over many years. But it could stop any time the participants felt that it was no longer useful. The secretariats are not pressed to send representatives or submit papers. They do so only because they feel that this method of informal mutual exchange of information is effective in avoiding or minimizing duplication and overlapping. Coordination is not the goal or role of the meetings but the result of the voluntary meeting of secretariats to talk about what is in their mutual interest. There is no actual or implied hierarchical system. Each secretariat is on equal footing with the others. Given the diversified nature of the organizations attending, any hierarchical set-up would be inconceivable.

In contrast to the U.N. Administrative Committee on Coordination (ACC) and its Sub-Committee on Water Resources Development,²⁴ which is attended by directors, participants to the Inter-Secretariat Meetings on Water are experts or officials in charge of program implementation. Participation in the Inter-Secretariat Meetings on Water is much broader, including, in addition to U.N. organs, the major IGOs and NGOs with activities in the field of water in Europe. For the last two reasons the nature of the discussions is very different. Extra-budgetary questions are not dealt with, as they only concern the U.N. organs and are sufficiently discussed in the ACC SubCommittee. The discussions cover only normal budgetary activities and specific projects at the implementation stage.

It is important to evaluate the role of the Inter-Secretariat Meetings on Water in achieving harmonization. In this respect it is interesting that "at almost every Meeting the usefulness of the Meetings was questioned, discussed and re-affirmed."²⁵

In 1973 the question was raised whether, due to the general proliferation of meetings, the Inter-Secretariat Meetings on Water should be discontinued while maintaining the once a year exchange of written statements on activities. However, "the view prevailed that for a clear understanding of the information supplied, personal contacts were indispensable, that in certain cases correspondence was slow and not always reached the working level, and that without a fixed meeting date the need for preparing the statements at specific periods would disappear and the exchange of views and experience would gradually cease."²⁶ Being an informal and voluntary group, the meetings could only continue if the participants felt that they were serving a useful purpose and hence the continual attempt to improve their functioning. The present methods are a result of a slow evolution over nineteen years, based on the conception and testing of procedures and their rejection or adoption.²⁷ Representation, reporting, and competence have been stabilized.

However, there seems to be agreement on some weaknesses, or at least limitations, in what can be accomplished. First, discussion of pre-programming suggestions or future projects has never reached the desirable depth. Attempts made to remedy this situation were all unsuccessful.²⁸ One proposal was to discuss preliminary ideas before putting them to the governing bodies. This proved to be impossible for several reasons. In the first place, most secretariats did not have sufficiently clear views at the time of the Inter-Secretariat Meetings on Water. Proposals are formulated in each organization at a different time and usually just shortly before their individual reunions which often do not correspond to the timing of the Inter-Secretariat Meetings. Secretariats do propose programs to governments, but a good deal is often thrown out from the preliminary documents, and decisions often go in unforeseen directions. Even if participants had clear ideas of their program proposals and could anticipate their governments' reactions, they would not discuss them at the preliminary stage without the approval of their directors. Intergovernmental bodies, being jealous of this information, would not support such a procedure for sharing ideas. The conclusion was

that the secretariats could talk about future programs only in a general and limited way.

A related idea was to choose a central topic on which four or five organizations would work simultaneously. This suggestion also proved unworkable because each institution has different priorities. It was finally recognized that only if the representation were to be raised to the director level could future programs or program policies be discussed in sufficient detail. But this change was felt to be impractical.²⁹

The meetings are limited therefore to coordinating projects at the executing stage, and here they have been successful. The discussions center around the identification of program intersections. The participants then examine the details of projects which seem to overlap. When there is duplication of decisions (which has been infrequent) the concerned secretariats agree to share the work, dividing it according to different aspects of the problems. When projects seem to overlap, participants exchange views and arrange to exchange relevant documents and to keep in touch. The success of the meetings is attested to by the fact that "governments have yet to designate a single case of duplication or unconscious overlapping."³⁰ The participating secretariats are equally satisfied. Several organizations may have the same subject under study, but due to the different orientation of each organization and the efforts to streamline activities, the results of the work are usually complementary.

One successful working method which has been adopted is the use of a uniform format for statements of activities.³¹ Prior to agreement on the format, the secretariats submitted descriptive statements which made it difficult to tell the difference between on-going projects and those still in the planning stage. Use of the uniform format rationalizes the coordination process. Time is saved in producing and reading statements. Information is more readily identifiable, and program intersections can be located easier. As a result, discussions can be limited to pertinent points. The idea of the format arose and was accepted at the 1971 meetings.

By 1974 only three or four secretariats did not follow it, and they are organizations with few activities. Its use is entirely voluntary.

The information given in the format alone is not sufficient to determine the degree of overlapping. More detailed program descriptions would be necessary for accurate comparisons. However, the format is designed to complement the meetings, one of the main purposes of which is to clarify the scope and methods of implementation of various projects. The participants consciously try to make the meetings as simple as possible and to keep the documentation and the efforts needed for their preparation to a minimum.

A new contribution was made at the Nineteenth Meeting held in May 1979. Using the information provided in the format, the ECE Secretariat prepared a comparative analysis of the work of the organizations in the field of water problems. The list of categories for classifying projects was expanded to facilitate finding actual or potential inter-relationships among activities. The new classification system substantially increased the possibility of identifying complementary and overlapping activities and areas for cooperation.³²

One achievement which should not be underestimated is the compilation of a chronological list of meetings of all the participating secretariats. This is the first time such a list on a specific sector has been made. It includes meetings to be held within the current year and the following two calendar years. Although not much can be done about the collision of meetings, each organization can make its own schedule with knowledge of the meetings of others.

Until 1975, the information prepared by the secretariats (list of meetings, and tables on completed projects and those under execution) was exclusively reserved for the use of the participating secretariats. At the 15th meeting, however, they agreed that each secretariat was free to circulate the information to the members of intergovernmental bodies which it serviced.

The Inter-Secretariat Meetings on Water have proved to be a fruitful method for the exchange of information in order to avoid or minimize overlap and duplication of activities at the execution stage. The meetings take place in a "club spirit" where colleagues and friends talk with each other, inform themselves and each other, and make the personal arrangements necessary to streamline their activities. The accomplishments of these meetings attest to the willingness of secretariat officials at the working level to cooperate and to the effectiveness of coordination through informal and voluntary harmonization.

It is true that all secretariats are afraid of losing their "sovereignty" and thus will initially resist attempts to be coordinated. But when the methods used do not threaten their prerogatives, their cooperation is ensured. This depends upon building up confidence in the convening secretariats. Sincerity on the part of the ECE and about three years were necessary to gain the mutual trust and confidence of the participating secretariats and to prove that exchange of information and voluntary harmonization for the mutual good was the aim. The resistance and the separate powers of the organizations make an authoritative approach unworkable; but as this experiment has proved, the possibilities of achieving voluntary coordination can render it unnecessary.³³

The real proof of the success of the Inter-Secretariat Meetings on Water is the extension of the experience gained in this context to the Inter-Secretariat Meetings on Environmental Problems in the European Region jointly convened annually by UNEP and ECE.

2. Inter-Secretariat Meetings on Environmental Problems in the European Region

The Inter-Secretariat Meetings on Environmental Problems in the European Region (referred hereafter as the Inter-Secretariat Meetings) are the other important example of voluntary multilateral cooperation and coordination among secretariats responsible for environmental matters.³⁴ These meetings, which

have been held yearly since 1973, are attended by the secretariats of the U.N. Agencies and bodies representing European regional activities³⁵ as well as European intergovernmental organizations.^{36,37} They are composed of officials at the level of directors and other senior officials responsible for environmental activities. One of the principal reasons for convening the first meeting was to discuss the inter-relationship of the activities of the IGOs and those of UNEP.³⁸ The main purpose of the second meeting was to continue the exchange of views and to start implementing the conclusions of the first meeting concerning future consultative and cooperative activities and arrangements. At this point, it was necessary to make some important decisions about the nature of the meeting which in fact involved a choice about the approach to be adopted towards cooperation and coordination. This question was discussed at length by Secretariat members of UNEP and ECE.³⁹

Because UNEP can exert no authority⁴⁰ over the IGOs, the attitude taken by UNEP at the meeting could easily influence the willingness of participating secretariats to cooperate. The Environment Coordinating Board, under the Chairmanship of the Executive Director of UNEP,⁴¹ which consists of representatives of secretariats of all the U.N. Agencies, is responsible for "ensuring cooperation and coordination among all U.N. bodies concerned in the implementation of environment programs," but the Agencies are not obliged to cooperate in the context of the Inter-Secretariat Meeting.⁴² In sum, effective authoritative powers to coordinate either U.N. Agencies or intergovernmental organizations do not exist. However, even recognizing this fact, and because of it, IGOs and U.N. Agencies are very sensitive to initiatives concerning cooperation and coordination which involve UNEP or another organization like ECE which they consider their equal.

Coordination being such a touchy subject, it was felt that the problem would best be approached strictly from the point of view of mutual interest, with all secretariats participating as equal partners. The basic idea of the meeting was to invite the participants (UNEP included) to talk about and take action in areas that were mutually beneficial, especially information exchange. Essentially, each

secretariat is wasting a considerable amount of time in assembling material on the meetings and activities of other organizations. It would be mutually advantageous for each one to prepare and distribute to the others data about its organization. The main problem would be to agree upon a format that could serve the interests of all the secretariats. The role of UNEP would be to facilitate this exchange. Voluntary coordination would be facilitated as a result of adequate exchange of information.

Although the meeting was to be convened jointly by UNEP and ECE, it was with the understanding that both organizations participate on an equal footing with other secretariats. UNEP and ECE would provide common services such as the preparation and distribution of the agenda and results. New tasks would be shared among other secretariats.

The outcome attests to the effectiveness of the method of voluntary cooperation. Important decisions were taken and thereafter implemented concerning exchange of information and inter-secretariat consultations. The first meeting agreed that the unobstructed and effective exchange and flow of information was essential among secretariats and should be supplied to governments and that UNEP was a logical organ to create the base for an information system and to initiate and execute the task of collecting, channelling, disseminating and sharing information.

The ECE is responsible for publishing and circulating a calendar⁴³ of meetings three times a year in the computer print-out format based on information provided by each secretariat.⁴⁴ The calendar includes two tabulations, one chronological and one arranged by subject. This is the first time that such a calendar of environmental meetings has been prepared for any region. The method of presentation, preparation, and circulation has been enthusiastically supported. The second method of information exchange was the preparation of summary tables of the environmental activities of participating secretariats using the procedures and format worked out by the Intersecretariat Meetings on Water Pollution.⁴⁵ Initial tables were to be prepared in the fields of marine environment and air pollution.⁴⁶ While the

usefulness of the summary reports in their own right was recognized, it was nevertheless agreed that they "should be an integral part of a larger and continuing process of cooperation."⁴⁷ They would be best used in conjunction with inter-secretariat consultations and meetings where secretariat officials working directly on problems could exchange more detailed information on their activities and discuss the potential and existing relationships between their respective activities.⁴⁸

Although the third meeting strongly favored the continued use of the common format,⁴⁹ there was a certain amount of discussion about increasing its usefulness. It was felt that the value of such an exercise was in the collective ability to analyze activities and the points of convergence among the various programs. However, such analysis was not possible with the present format. It was felt that other classifications should be added, but the real question was what these classifications should be. One participant expressed the view that the most important missing link was a categorization according to outputs or functions of each activity. There was discussion on the appropriate substantive categories. The general opinion was that they should be standardized not only for the format but for general use of all organizations. It was generally felt that UNEP would have to take the responsibility for developing the initial code, but a smaller number of categories than presently used in the UNEP International Referral System was preferred. A suggestion was made to use UNEP priority areas. Some organizations explained that they had attempted to do so, but found them unworkable. The UNEP classification reflects the political priorities of the Governing Council which do not correspond to those of other organizations. The general view was that experiments on substantive and functional "key words" should be conducted before the next meeting. In the meantime, it was agreed to add two columns to the format: "expected results" and "remarks." In the column "expected results" the secretariats could also individually suggest output-oriented terms which they considered useful. It was hoped that the inclusion of the category of "expected results" and further work on output-oriented key words would make possible the computerization of the information and the development of matrices.

As the experience of the Inter-Secretariat Meeting on Water Pollution showed, the summary tables of activities of the organizations do not really allow the user to identify possible overlap among the various activities. To remedy this defect and to provide an overview of the kind and number of environmental activities conducted in Europe, the idea of producing a synoptic table or matrix was discussed. The resulting matrix should also help to identify complementary projects where inter-secretariat cooperation and consultation could be extended and identify areas where new activities could be usefully developed. Although there was originally little enthusiasm for the development of matrices, the third meeting agreed that the UNEP and ECE Secretariats could prepare one or more for the next meeting on ongoing projects.

The principle of inter-secretariat consultations was accepted and expanded. The proposal to hold specialized meetings on specific sectors starting with the marine environment and air pollution, according to the procedures and practices used by the Inter-Secretariat Meeting on Water Problems, was agreed upon at the second meeting. The summary reports to be prepared in these two areas would be used as a basis for discussion.⁵⁰ The third meeting continued its support for these sectoral meetings, which were considered "most useful." Concerning the general inter-secretariat meeting of directors, it was felt that in the future focus should be more on substance.⁵¹

The Fourth Inter-Secretariat Meeting, held 1-2 July 1976, continued the work started at the previous sessions. The representatives from each organization were given an opportunity to inform the group of the content and status of their on-going work, new projects and priority areas, and documents and reports issued since the last meeting. Seven organizations submitted information on their current and planned activities according to the common format and several other secretariats submitted similar information but not in the standardized format. It was agreed that the written statements would be more useful if the secretariats would specify the method of implementation and the expected results. It was also agreed that henceforth the statements would be prepared on a

two-year basis. The participants considered the consolidated Calendar for Europe on Environmental Meetings very useful. It was thus decided to continue its preparation three times a year.

In addition to information exchange, the Meeting devoted a significant amount of time to methods of analysis of information. The UNEP and ECE secretariats prepared three papers which served as a basis for discussion. The first was a general analysis of information contained in the written statements according to the UNEP classifications. It was felt that analysis according to the UNEP system reflected a global view of priorities determined by UNEP's Governing Council and did not necessarily coincide with the European regional priorities. The usefulness of a second document on the work of international organizations in the field of human settlements was questioned because it included projects of no relation to the environment and used headings of activities from the U.N. Habitat Conference which did not appear suitable for the European region. The paper on the work of international organizations in the field of solid waste attempted to outline a methodology for comparing work, but like the other exercises, it was regarded as rather academic and of little practical value.

The meeting felt that the most useful mechanisms for cooperation among secretariats were the sectoral meetings. It was agreed that WHO/EURO would organize the first Inter-Secretariat Meeting on Solid Waste in December 1976. It was noted that the Second Inter-Secretariat Meeting on Air Pollution was scheduled for January 1978. There was agreement that a second meeting on Marine Environment should be held. The ECE was requested to take a lead role in convening a meeting on environmental aspects of energy. Finally, it was decided that the Inter-Secretariat Meetings on Environmental Problems would be convened every two years.

The Fifth Inter-Secretariat Meeting was held 15-16 March 1979. The meeting was disappointing from the point of view of attendance; only 10 of the 23 organizations invited attended. The small attendance can partly be explained by the fact that many of the directors already meet together in the UNEP ECB and

focal point meetings (now ACC and designated officials.) To facilitate a better and higher level of participation, it was suggested to link the meetings with sessions of main intergovernmental bodies.

Secretariats again submitted information on their activities in the common format, which served as a basis for a review of activities since the Fourth Meeting. The Director of the UNEP Liaison and Regional Office in Geneva initiated a discussion on environmental information in Europe. The meeting also discussed the results of the sectoral meetings, which it was agreed were very useful. Topics for⁵² additional sectoral meetings were also discussed.

As of March 1979 three Inter-Secretariat Meetings had been held on air pollution, two on solid waste management, one on energy in human settlements and one on environmental aspects of energy. The energy meeting agreed on four issues for inter-secretarial cooperation and decided not to reconvene on a regular basis, but left open the idea of ad hoc meetings. All the meetings were devoted mainly to exchange of information and experience.

In evaluating the contribution that the Inter-Secretariat Meeting has made and can continue to make in achieving the goals of cooperation and coordination, the sectoral meetings can perform a valuable role in exchanging information and avoiding unnecessary and undesired overlap. The development of methods of comparative analysis can make this cooperation more useful and effective. At this stage, however, they are not able to obtain goals that go beyond cooperation at the implementation stage.

The results achieved so far in the consultations at the director level attest to the secretariats' willingness to meet to exchange information on on-going and planned projects in an effort to avoid unnecessary overlap and duplication. Within this limited context, it can be said that the meetings are an example of the success of voluntary cooperation and harmonization among the secretariats of intergovernmental organizations. A basis for inter-secretariat cooperation on environmental problems in the European Region has been established. The

extension of the procedures perfected by the Inter-Secretariat Meeting on Water Pollution means that there is now a uniform system for treating inter-secretariat cooperation on environmental problems in Europe. The particular arrangements can be adjusted to meet changing needs but there is agreement on the nature and form of the cooperation. The continuing success of the established arrangements is facilitated by the impersonal and decentralized character of the system. Several secretariats are responsible for the various activities. This means that many groups now have an interest in seeing the process continue.

An important decision taken at the third meeting concerned the permission given to all secretariats to use the calendar and the information contained in the format "as they see fit." The distribution of the calendar is to be unrestricted. Information contained in the format can be used if the source and date of issue are referred to and the information is not distorted.⁵³ The significance of these decisions lies in the fact that this information can now be distributed to the governing bodies of each organization, thus giving governments equal access to the information which they can use to carry out their responsibilities for coordination. (The opposite view had been accepted at the second meeting.)

Equally significant was the tacit acceptance of the role played by UNEP and ECE, but especially UNEP in facilitating cooperation. Although other secretariats are also undertaking specific and important responsibilities, time-consuming and expensive tasks will likely fall to UNEP if the information exchange is to be elaborated. It is already recognized that UNEP will have to take the principal responsibility for the elaboration of substantive key terms.

The basic criticism of the Inter-secretariat Meetings is the limited goals which do not go beyond the exchange of information to avoid overlapping. Certain aspects of the information exchange which have been agreed upon in principle could, if properly developed, facilitate the realization of other aspects of rational programming. However, it seems unlikely that such a course will be pursued. The preparation and exchange of written statements on a

two-year basis and one-to-one and a half-day meetings biennially hardly constitute an adequate basis for real coordination of policy and programs.

C. Governmental Procedures

Although governments are becoming increasingly aware of the necessity for coordination and for their responsibility in achieving it, attempts in this direction have remained largely unsatisfactory. The basic problem is that national authority for environmental problems is divided among many ministries, and attempts to centralize or coordinate this dispersed authority have been generally unsuccessful. Delegates from competing ministries attend the meetings of different organizations and put forth or support competing, contradictory, or at least uncoordinated program proposals. This is simply a projection of a lack of national coordination to the international level. Governments have "no clearly defined idea of what they wish to obtain from each particular organization in relation to others, have no adequate system of allocating budgets amongst them, no coordination of instructions to various organizations, and no means of viewing the total extent of projects in a particular matter in all organizations."⁵⁴ The inadequacy of governmental decision-making machinery keeps governments from asserting effective control over IGOs and prevents them from taking advantage of the IGOs to help solve their own problems.⁵⁵ The necessity of government control as a prerequisite for effective relations between organizations is a recognized and accepted fact.

It is not the purpose of this paper to elaborate on this subject as it is discussed extensively elsewhere. We shall limit our comments to the operations of governmental procedures which have been set up to try to coordinate national environmental policies in IGOs. In those countries where an inter-ministerial committee or coordination board has been set up to coordinate the environmental programs of various agencies, this group is sometimes also responsible for the coordination of international activities. The difficulty with these committees is that they have no real power, which makes coordination

an impossible task on the national as well as on the international level.

A second very common method is to set up a coordinating committee within the foreign ministry. This group, of supposedly internationally-minded officials, is thus placed in a position of arbitrating internal interests. However, they generally lack the competence or the capability to perform such a task. They have no power to decide internal policy and know relatively little about the substantive matters. To overcome the latter weakness they sooner or later attempt to build up a large staff to understand what is going on. Inter-Agency meetings organized by both inter-ministerial and foreign ministry committees to bring together the various national interests are thus more often general exercises of information exchange than coordination. Such meetings may bring together a large number of ministries but they are too often held to discuss policy towards one or a limited number of organizations and are rarely organized to deal with the substance of activities and overall policy direction toward all organizations dealing with environmental problems.

In addition, when the coordination role is delegated to the foreign ministries, the groups began to feel that they should replace or at least accompany, participants from the national ministries. Irrespective of the latter tendency, generally nearly half of the participants to international meetings are from the ministries of foreign affairs or from the permanent missions to the organizations. This situation is conducive neither to coordination between organizations nor to meaningful cooperation within individual organizations. The same reasons apply -- the delegates generally lack understanding of the problems and even in the cases where the above is not true, they have no power to make decisions for their national ministries. Sometimes countries try to send the same participants to meetings of different organizations. Superficially, this would seem to be a good way to keep track and coordinate the activities at least in specific fields. The difficulty here is that those who have the time to attend many international meetings are not in responsible jobs at home and thus are in no position to coordinate national policy.

It is often stated that one of the keys to coordination of IGOs is centralized national control over the budgets of the various organizations. This is true, but the situation is more complicated. The choice of projects are not entirely or even directly related to the budgets of the organizations. Countries generally agree to cooperate on activities which they are already carrying out domestically. When the national contributions are significant and more resources are needed, the budgets of the ministry involved is more affected than the budgets of the international organization. Even when the latter furnishes significant secretariat services, budget allocation and choice of the nature, although not the quantity, of activities are separate processes. In general, it is fair to state that the national coordinating mechanisms rarely succeed in adequately performing their tasks. A final reason is simply that much policy-making is in fact done on a very ad hoc basis depending upon issues, personalities, timing, and the domestic responsibility of those making the decisions.

Going beyond the responsibilities of each individual government, what procedures could be used to coordinate international organizations at the inter-governmental level? A certain amount of coordination can and does take place within the intergovernmental committees of each organization. But is there any method of looking at the organization globally? General ministerial conferences would at first view seem to be a logical answer. If countries were internally organized to coordinate environmental activities, positive results could come out of such conferences. Otherwise, the decisions of such encounters can only reflect the facade of national coordination or the views of the ministries which attend and cannot really influence the policies and programs of the various organizations.

Ministerial conferences on environmental problems were held by the Council of Europe (1973, 1976 and 1979) and by the OECD (1974 and 1979). When these are sponsored by one organization, decisions can be taken concerning only that organization. Theoretically (and again dependent upon the concentration of national authority for environmental problems in one ministry), decisions could probably be taken about

other organizations, but it is naive to think that other organizations would let this happen. This was precisely the case of the Council of Europe whose European Conservation Conference (February 1970) urged the Committee of Ministers "to convene as a matter of urgency a European Ministerial Conference which should have the following tasks":

- (1) to review and promote the coordination of the respective programs of intergovernmental organizations in Europe;
- (2) to request the international organizations concerned to take steps to secure internationally agreed standards;
- (3) to promote harmonization of national legislation;
- (4) to examine the proposal to create a European Authority with the task of guiding and supervising the management of the natural environment of Europe;
- (5) to examine the proposal of creating a European fund for combatting pollution.⁵⁶

By 1973, when the Conference was held, the roles of other international organizations in the field were more or less delineated and it was clear that the Conservation Conference had over extended itself in outlining the coordination tasks of the Ministerial Conference. The Ministerial Conference thus did not even attempt to implement the guidelines set for it, but instead concentrated on a reappraisal of the substantive orientation of the Council of Europe in the field of the environment.

III. What is needed and by whom?

A basic difficulty within and among organizations is how to achieve the most efficient utilization of resources. The first aspect is the performance of worthwhile work in each organization. The second aspect is the effective division of work among organizations. If any progress is to be made toward these ends, efforts must be made simultaneously by governments and secretariats to achieve them. The role to be played by each group is of equal importance, and the success of each is dependent upon effective concurrent action by the other. The order, therefore, in which the following suggestions are elaborated in no way indicates importance or sequence. They are all important, and it is recommended that action on all points be either initiated at once or pursued with more vigor where action has already been started.

First, governments should make a serious attempt to understand the nature of each organization, including formal authority and substantive goals. Unfortunately, comments by some governmental representatives and programs adopted suggest that the extent to which governments understand what each organization is allowed or intended to do has not always reached the necessary depth which would allow them to influence strategies of these organizations in an optimal manner. Based upon a fundamental understanding of each organization, governments should clearly define functions and program objectives. Better delineation of areas of responsibility would reduce the need for coordination mechanisms and allow each organization to get on with its work without fear of conflicting interests.

Second, governments must take more efficient steps to coordinate their policies towards intergovernmental organizations. At present different individuals attend different meetings and they are often led to adopt conflicting policy decisions on the same subject. At the very least, delegates to meetings should be briefed by governments on the possible interactions between organizations on the subjects to be discussed.

Third, programs must be more precisely formulated.⁵⁷ Work should be defined in terms of output and not input. Projects should be specified according to a clear product desired and not according to a procedural specification of how to run a project. The critical point is what, not how. There is often deliberate evasive formulation of programs. The goal should be the development of purposeful management documents as distinct from budgetary programs.⁵⁸ The responsibility here lies with both governments and secretariats. In practice, projects are initiated and formulated at the secretariat level. Governments evaluate these proposals, vetoing, accepting, or changing them, but in the end taking the decision as to what the actual program should be. Secretariats should themselves take the responsibility for, and governments should insist upon, clear product specifications for proposals as a prerequisite for approval. Governments should give precise instructions to secretariats, clearly authorizing them to carry out specific action, and should impose precise limitations on this action. It will then be possible to tell if the contract has been fulfilled or not. In drawing up projects, secretariats should make sure that they can be separated into clear tasks which can be assigned specific resources. Definition of activities according to the above criteria is necessary first in order to have meaningful substantive projects and, secondly, to make coordination feasible. Only when programs are output-oriented can utility to others be discussed. Programs intersect when there is a utility-oriented output; it is only possible to coordinate in terms of required products. Until programs are formulated in this manner all talk about coordination and duplication is meaningless.

In sum, if it is the intention of governments to achieve coordination then they must more clearly define what they want to do. Simultaneously secretariats must divide tasks coherently between staff, so that project elements can be compared at the working level with what is happening in other institutions. Staff instructions should state clearly what is expected. Again this means not just how but why and what. These measures help overcome the situation where only those who accompany all stages of work can fully understand and utilize the results. The

fact is that when the objectives and results of activities are clear and precise, the staff of another organization can and should be able to use the work at all stages.

Fourth, the importance of the management function of the secretariats should be emphasized. Their responsibility for initiating program proposals and for implementing programs once they have been approved by intergovernmental organs has already been mentioned. Another very important management task is the integration of the work of the various bodies and goals within each organization. Many intergovernmental organizations have only a very general corporate or unique purpose, as they are made up of many separate entities with different constituencies and aims which only relate to the secretariat and are dependent upon it for a meaningful integration of their work.

Fifth, a complete and accessible system of information on the environment activities of intergovernmental organizations available to both secretariats and governments is needed. The reasons for such a system are obvious. As Sir Peter Smithers points out:

The problems . . . arise not in a series of bilateral relationships between Governments and individual organizations but in relation to the whole array of organizations now in existence. A decision taken in one organization ought to be considered not simply in regard to that body but in regard to all others whose work is either directly or indirectly relevant.⁵⁹

Difficulties in establishing satisfactory programs are caused by the abundance and complexity of information. Distortions of views and divergent views often "do not have their origin in real differences of interest or of policy but . . . result from partial and, therefore selectively different national and organizational approaches"⁶⁰ which often take into account only part of the subject matter. Not only is factual information generally incomplete and inaccessible, but neither governments nor organizations possess a synoptic method of over-viewing the work in all IGOs. A central data system to facilitate the programming of IGOs should reduce the

confusion and misconceptions due to inadequate information. This would be an important step towards providing a sound basis for intergovernmental decision-making.⁶¹

If such a system of information on environmental activities is to be developed, there are three essential questions which must first be answered.

The first question is "why?" Broadly speaking, this is easily answered: to facilitate coordination among organizations, to avoid duplication and to prevent conflicts where more than one body is working on the same subject. But the intentions must be even more specific. It must be made absolutely clear from the beginning that the goal of an information system is to serve as a programming tool for both governments and secretariats and not simply as a computerized archive of activities. Unless governments are committed to the programming function and willing to enforce it, discussions on an information system should not be pursued! Within the framework of a programming tool, secretariats and governments must identify in much more detail its purposes and uses. The information requirements of each and within each may be quite different. These can range from "detailed programme planning requirements and project logistics at the country level to broad categories of information of a political, financial and technical nature at the legislative level."⁶² Following the identification of needs, the most urgent must be chosen as the basis of the system, which cannot be developed to include every aspect of environmental activities.

The answer to the second question, "What type of information," will depend upon needs. Although precise answers cannot be anticipated here, there is one concept which must be integrated into the system to make it useful. Information input and output must be organized to allow a comprehensive analysis of all the programs and projects of one organization vis-à-vis those of all other relevant organizations.⁶³ This necessitates multiple classifications of programs and projects. The key groups of classification which must be developed are as follows:

(a) The most obvious are the subject categories relating to broad problem areas and to specific aspects. One broad problem area, for example, is water pollution. Specific aspects are industrial pollution, transfrontier pollution, marine pollution, etc. A more refined categorization is possible for each of the latter. Although it may be obvious that activities must be classified in such a manner, the categories themselves are far from obvious and not necessary mutually exclusive. UNEP has been considering for several years appropriate substantive classification systems for its projects and has not yet found any definitive answer. What has become obvious is that it is not possible to produce a set of detailed categories that are both comprehensive and hierarchically arranged for a subject as broad as environment. When an attempt was made to start with broad categories and then to assign detailed aspects to each, it soon became clear that it was not possible to assign unique broad categories. It was concluded that generalizations of relations between terms is not possible. The UNEP International Referral System (IRS)⁶⁴ has avoided the hierarchical issue by making all of its subjects descriptions at about the same level of detail without allowing either broad categories or fine distinctions. Information is classified in multiple terms using a series of "attributes" each of which constitute a part of the description but taken together give the whole picture.⁶⁵ This may or may not be an answer for the classification of international activities but it is a method which is being tried on a practical basis and could be a way of starting.

(b) The second substantive classification includes eight general aspects which in principle are a part of each broad and specific problem. These are (1) economics, (2) technology, (3) energy and nature resource utilization, (4) ecology, (5) trade, (6) policy, planning and management, (7) health, and (8) social and human factors. The factors taken into account must be indicated for each activity. In general, no analysis is complete unless all or most of these factors have been considered. With this indication other organizations can easily see what additional aspects should be considered and incorporate the results of others in their projects.

(c) the functional classification is the output or expected results of activities. Unless the output of each activity is easily identifiable, any talk about coordination is meaningless. If there is a commitment of one organization to do something specific, another can plan its program so as to incorporate the results of the activity. The basic problem with international organizations is that their programs are procedurally but not output-oriented. Fortunately IGOs are beginning to formulate their programs in terms of output because only when the latter are identifiable can the utility to others be discussed.

Below is a preliminary list of functional categories. In the course of analyzing the activities of the organizations under study, the author has identified the following functional categories:

1. Collection and exchange of information
2. Status review of the problem, including inventories and surveys
3. Policy review - presentation and discussion of policies
4. Policy assessment or evaluation
5. Standardizing of data and methods
6. Development of methodology
7. Elaboration of criteria
8. Elaboration of guidelines
9. Elaboration of standards
10. Development of measurement techniques
11. Development of processes
12. Research cooperation
13. Information campaigns
14. Information systems
15. Notification systems
16. Informal coordination of policy
17. Recommendation of principles and guidelines
18. Formal coordination of policy - decisions, directives and conventions
19. Monitoring
20. Pilot projects
21. Evaluation of results

(d) The fourth classification is the method of implementation. This includes, for example, inter-governmental meetings of experts, task forces, seminars, consultants, governmental rapporteurs, and the secretariat.

(e) The fifth classification is a timetable for availability of results. This includes not only the expected final completion date but the dates for results during the project. An organization must know when the results of the activities of others will be available in order to plan for their incorporation in its own work.

(f) A sixth classification is an indication of the financial and other resources allocated to each activity and the sources of the funds. If past behavior can be used as an indication, a statement of resources will be resisted by secretariats.⁶⁶ There are several reasons, the basic one being that it is a key to coordination and secretariats do not want to be coordinated. It is also true that it is a time consuming and difficult task to determine how much is being spent on each activity. Although this information is available for all extra-budgetary projects which must be costed, such information on regular budgetary activities may simply not be available. In addition, the methods of calculating the resources are not always comparable, and organizations which rely heavily on governmental contributions are afraid that the relatively small sums spent by the organization itself will infer that not much is being done. In some cases reluctance on the part of the secretariats to furnish such information may reflect a desire not to show how poor their own accounting systems are. There is thus need to look for a standard, simple accounting procedure which is comparable.

(g) The geographical area (where relevant) and place of execution (names of countries and organizations) must also be designated.

(h) There should be some indication of the long-range and intermediate objectives of each activity and relevant background and decisions to undertake such work.

(i) Finally, sources for further information must be indicated.

The amount of detail required on each point must be predetermined from the outset in order to limit the cost of the system. Beyond the information in the central file, which can never contain everything

everyone wants, it is necessary to go outside the central system.

The above classifications should be worked out and accepted by all the organizations. This is not only a prerequisite for an information system, but also is necessary to avoid misunderstandings in the communications between organizations and to allow integration of programs. Because an information system would direct those interested to source material, which in turn must be easily accessible, relevant documentation of each organization must also be classified according to most of the above ideas. The importance of the classifications is not only to make the information readily available for analysis but to keep the system simple enough to be usable. The groups of classifications in themselves are not complicated, but the development of terms within each category will take a considerable amount of work. In order to be meaningful and to avoid a vast accumulation of haphazard information, the key words must have a very specific meaning. The task is much more difficult than it looks at first sight, but is nevertheless not insurmountable.

The most serious difficulties arise when organizations actually sit down to classify their activities, which at the moment, are not usually planned with these types of classifications in mind. They are generally not output, but procedurally-oriented. The completion date is often vague or if initially planned, not respected. In sum, the effective functioning of such a classification system depends on a reorientation of the program formulation and execution process which ensures that this type of information is not only incorporated in, but an integral part of, each activity. A significantly different approach must be adopted so that organizations see and organize their programs along these lines.

Of utmost importance is the fact that if the information system is to be used to achieve the goals of cooperation and coordination at the program formulation stage, information fed into the system must be based on project plans and not just general intentions or completed projects. Although often such limited information can have a certain usefulness, it alone will not be enough to make the system work.

A critical issue is whether secretariats can and will give the complete data necessary to devise a useful information system, including planned activities. Related and equally important is a system of updating. Any information system is useless unless it gives the current status of activities.

The suggestions for the information system contain some significant departures from existing systems. The classification of activities according to the eight general aspects, functional categories, method of implementation and timetable would necessitate a reorientation of the program formulation and execution process. By allowing a view of activities that would permit secretariats and governments to realize what is actually happening, it could stimulate, or even shock, those concerned into questioning the present situation. Formulation of work programs in terms of output and not input would have the effect of making the work more useful and would probably eliminate some existing activities.

A third set of questions is "by whom, where, and how" should such a system be developed? UNEP has a very important role to play given the fact that it was created with the intention of concentrating the responsibility for developing the necessary environmental information systems in a single body. But UNEP's role does not exclude the active involvement of other bodies already in existence, in particular the Inter-Organization Board for Information Systems and Related Activities (IOB) which was set up under the overall direction of the Administrative Committee on Coordination to coordinate and develop inter-agency information systems with emphasis on socio-economic development.⁶⁷ The Common Registry of Development Activities (CORE) developed by IOB is the only fully computerized inter-agency system which contains activity information. It is a program/project inventory which will provide information on such aspects as "(a) the purposes of the activities; (b) the finances devoted to them; (c) the sources of funds; and (d) their current status."⁶⁸ At present CORE is mainly a compilation of projects of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP). The International Labour Organization (ILO) and the World Health Organization (WHO) have also volunteered to make extensive input to CORE on an experimental basis. This does

not include specifically environmental aspects. So far CORE is an experimental, rather than an operational tool.

Some Agencies have or are planning internal management information systems. One important project is UNISIST of UNESCO which is a plan for a world science information system.⁶⁹ Basic questions which must be answered are therefore not only how should the responsibility for establishing such a system be divided but can any realistic information system on activities be strictly environmental? These questions which have been the subject of many discussions, have not yet been resolved.

UNEP efforts to collect information on the environmental activities of international organizations are performed under the title of "Level One," "Review of Environmental Situation and Activities Relating to the Environment Program," where information on specific priority areas is collected by ad hoc methods and interviews and compiled in written form as a report to the Governing Council. This sector by sector approach was expected to continue until 1978 until each of the priority sectors has been reported upon at least once. "Thereafter UNEP wishes to mechanize the continuous process of identifying and keeping information up to date on relevant activities so as to produce comparable information in a less expensive and more efficient manner."⁷⁰

The UNEP Inter-Agency Task Force on Data, which met first in June 1974, was established to work toward a computerized system. At its Second Session in November 1975, there was a consensus that CORE could be developed to include environmental activities if the appropriate environmental references were worked out to identify the activities of other organizations relevant to the UNEP program objectives. The Task Force recommended that UNEP work with IOB, WHO and FAO, and other interested agencies to develop terms to code the environmental activities of the Agencies.⁷¹ No further progress has been made because the project has not been funded. Previous to this ILO attempted to develop the areas of environmental terms, but it concluded that it was an impossible task.

Decisions have been taken at the Inter-Secretariat Meeting that could set the basis for provision of information on activities in the European region. The participating secretariats agreed to furnish data about their activities according to the agreed format, which includes information on "expected results" or output. They have agreed that the information can be used as a basis for a computerized system and can be furnished to governments. They decided that commonly acceptable substantive categories of problems are needed and that UNEP must take the responsibility for developing the initial code. It was further decided that experiments on functional keywords should begin.

UNEP's attempts to develop a data system on environmental activities of Agencies, IGOs, and NGOs have run into a series of difficulties. In the beginning, Agencies were less than enthusiastic about furnishing such information to UNEP. Although they are now more amenable to the idea, they still insist that UNEP provide them funds to classify their activities. Any such undertaking is obviously expensive and Agencies simply do not have the resources. Now that UNEP is in turn having its financial difficulties, funds have not been allocated to pursue action on the decisions of the Second Meeting of the Task Force or of the Inter-Secretariat Meeting to develop subject and functional classifications. In fact, although UNEP still gives lip-service to the existence of the Task Force, it is recognized that the cost of UNEP establishing a computerized system to unearth the environmental activities of the U.N. System would be much more expensive than the ad hoc procedure currently being used.

The question of cooperation with IOB has been a source of much contention. Although IOB has the mandate to provide technical competence for the coordination of inter-agency systems, its performance in carrying out this mandate has never been satisfactory. The inadequacies of CORE have been criticized by Agencies and have been the source of much hesitation on the part of the UNEP Secretariat to entrusting work to IOB. It has been hoped that CORE could be adapted to suit UNEP needs, but this attitude is more due to the fact that CORE is the

only existing interagency management information system than that it is seen as a workable solution.

Other questions relating to "how?" must be answered. Who will code, check, classify, and distribute information? How will it be kept up to date? Only secretariats can furnish information about their own organizations, but the more detailed the classifications the more difficult it is to classify one's own activities. Secretariats also have an important role to play in devising collectively improved methods for the presentation of information. This task has already begun in the Inter-Secretariat Meeting and it can continue to play an important role. The decisions to classify activities according to the above list and to furnish this data should be taken. Although secretariat officials can give suggestions on the content of each classification, a cohesive compilation can only be assembled by information terminology experts.

"When" should such a system be devised? As soon as possible, but only when the other questions have an answer. The latter point must be emphasized because it is the root of the problem of IOB. At its Eighth Session in February 1976, discussions indicated that there was still no clear idea of CORE's uses or users' needs, no definition of the limits of its information, no commitment from Agencies to furnish and update information, no idea of cost effectiveness, and no identification by governments of the value of CORE to themselves, although interest is acknowledged.

In 1979 the feasibility of making CORE operational is still open to question. Recently the Joint Inspection Unit of the U.N. determined that it would cost approximately ten million dollars to establish and three to five million dollars per year to run it. On this basis IOB decided to put off action for the time being. On the government side, the Consultative Committee on Substantive Questions asked that it be operational by 1981. UNEP is still asking for a clarification of its intended use so that it can be designed to meet users needs. Within the U.N., only organizations with funding functions, like UNDP, World Bank and UNEP maintain an interest. The executing agencies have no need for it and now

that some like WHO and ILO have their own information systems, they are not enthusiastic about redesigning them to fit an interagency system. In any case what is clear is that no information system of activities could be cost-effective if it is simply an archive. Only if a political decision is made to use it as a programming tool on an interagency basis can its cost be justified.

If the answers to the above questions are found, governments must approve of the system and instruct secretariats through their governing bodies and the General Assembly to contribute to its development and to furnish the necessary information. The latter point must be included given the resistance to reporting financial data and planned activities. The fact that the Inter-Secretariat Meeting agreed to give the information to governments, for example, may mean that the information they plan to give is that which governments already have access to on completed or nearly completed activities. The other possibility is that the secretariats do not realize what governments can do with the information once they understand it. UNEP could help governments identify these and similar problems and clarify exactly what is needed as far as governmental instructions to secretariats are concerned.

A final point is that one of the early steps in the consideration of an information system should be to make a compilation of what others have done, including successes and mistakes.

IV. Some Conclusions

It should be underlined that an information system is only one condition for improving decision-making. It would make it possible to avoid obviously defective decisions resulting from incomplete and partial facts. But it cannot help avoid political considerations or structural defects which prevent "optimum" decisions.⁷²

An information system cannot replace coordination at the initial planning stage-- a function which must be performed by secretariats and governments.

A basic concern is thus how and among whom should planning consultations take place? At the European level, the Inter-Secretariat Meeting was set up for this reason. But what functions can or will it be willing to perform? Now that the basis for cooperation has been established, it could adopt as its principal function pre-programming consultations, including comment and review of program proposals and documents being presented for intergovernmental consideration. In order to make cooperation at the planning stage possible in the sectoral meetings, there will have to be some involvement at the director level or directors will have to agree to let the official in charge of the sector discuss project plans.

The Inter-Secretariat Meeting and sectoral meetings could play an important role if they would aim at coordinating secretariat initiatives and not merely at exchanging information and checking upon one another. They could furthermore give a sense of direction and management to the environmental activities of the European Region. Whether they will do so, however, is open to doubt. The progress made at the third meeting led one to believe that they were moving in this direction. However, at the fourth meeting it became clear that there was little, if any, desire or intention to go beyond information exchange. Even the ideas of using the activity statements as a basis for an information system and for analysis of activities seemed to be indefinitely shelved. The small attendance at the fifth meeting was also discouraging.

This study has found that both the bilateral and multilateral cooperative procedures and mechanisms seldom go beyond information exchange and analysis and establishing information systems. Although the availability of information is absolutely essential, it is not a sufficient condition to ensure coordination. And, even on this level, the information exchanged is not adequate. The Intersecretariat Meetings are pursuing a sectoral approach. While this division for discussion purposes is a practical way of dealing with a wide range of problems, what

is lacking is the search for overall direction and integration of programs which should be the task of the Intersecretariat Meeting on Environment. Necessary technical improvements of the cooperation and coordination process have been accepted and are being worked out. There is as yet, however, little willingness to collectively recognize the need for a conceptual context and structural critique which would look beyond the technical difficulties to identify structural aspects of governmental procedures and intergovernmental mechanisms that impede cooperation.

As a matter of principle, both governments and secretariats express the desire for coordination. However, at the practical level, governments are not equipped to attain this objective, and, therefore, their pleas are often interpreted as rhetoric. Furthermore, neither intergovernmental committees nor secretariat members actively pursue or accept the formation of mechanisms or procedures which could effectively facilitate pre-programming coordination of their work. The results of the various inter-secretariat meetings substantiate this point.⁷³

FOOTNOTES

1. Smithers, Sir Peter, Governmental Control: A Prerequisite for Effective Relations Between the United Nations and non-United Nations Regional Organizations, A Unitar Regional Study, New York, United Nations Institute for Training and Research, 1973, p. 6.

2. In relation to the U.N. System, M. Elmadjra asks if the desire to limit activities and resources and dissatisfaction with performance explain the disproportionate amount of energy on coordination. He expresses the view that it has been used as a strategic tactic to limit effectiveness and as an escape for action. (See Elmandjra, pp. 13-16.)

3. Smithers, p. 9.

4. Ibid., pp. 7-8.

5. The following discussion generally assumes that IGOs are set up to share tasks between them, that they are non-competitive. Some may, however, be set up to have competitive interests. In the latter case it may be a false concept to try to coordinate too much.

6. Smithers, p. 10.

7. Ibid.

8. Sharp, Walter. Coordination of Economic and Social Activities, New York, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, United Nations Studies, No. 2, 1948, p. 26.

9. Elmandjra, p. 126.

10. Smithers, p. 29.

11. Elmandjra, pp. 168-169.

12. While formulating their program on trans-frontier pollution, the OECD invited the Council of Europe, IMCO, ECE, UNEP and FAO for informal

discussions in order to avoid overlapping or duplication and to take the work of these organizations into account in developing its own program. In preparation for European Conservation Year (1970), the Secretariat of the Council of Europe called a meeting of thirty IGOs and NGOs to inform them of their plans in hopes of obtaining their cooperation. An inter-secretariat meeting to discuss the various activities on urban problems was convened by the Council of Europe in 1974.

13. Resolution 1549 (XLIX) (1970) of the Economic and Social Council calls for the exchange and prior consultation of work programs between secretariats. Work programs are circulated before approval for comments by the other U.N. bodies.

14. See Footnote number 41.

15. The Council of Europe has recently set up a liaison bureau in Brussels in order to coordinate the activities of the two organizations; this includes environmental activities. OECD and the Assembly of the Council of Europe have liaison committees organized on the basis of a written agreement. They consist of seven governmental representatives from each organization. Although these meetings have been held mainly in relation to agriculture, one meeting was held in 1973 on environment.

16. Until now activities related to the conservation of nature have been considered the task of the Council of Europe. The Council of Europe and the Commission have tried to share and coordinate work relating to the Convention of Fresh Water and the elaboration of European Community directives on water quality norms. This arrangement has not always been satisfactory to either organization due to the slower pace at which the Council of Europe is forced to work and the one-way flow of information. As the working rules of the European Communities do not allow participation in their meetings or distribution of documents during the working stages, cooperation during the whole process is not possible. The OECD and the European Communities agreed to share work on pollution control costs. OECD undertook the study on the pulp and paper industry and the European Communities the study on titanium dioxide; the study on iron and steel was divided between the two.

17. An example of this is that the OECD found out that ECOSOC had decided to look at the labelling of toxic substances, possibly including those pertaining to the environment, only several months after the decision on PCBs was taken, which approved work in the same area.

18. "Summary Reports for Activities in the Programme of Work and Priorities for 1974-75", Senior Advisers to ECE Governments, p. 6.

19. U.N. Water Resources Development Centre, ECE, UNEP, FAO, UNESCO, WHO (headquarters and Regional Office for Europe), WMO, IAEA.

20. International Law Association (ILA), International Organization for Standardization (ISO), International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN), International Water Supply Association (IWSA), International Association on Hydrological Sciences (IAHS), European Federation for the Protection of Waters (EFPW), International Association on Water Pollution Research (IAWPR).

21. "Thirteen Years of Inter-Secretariat Meetings of Water Pollution and Related Water Questions in Europe," note prepared by the ECE Secretariat, ME/ENVH/73/D.3, 14 June 1973, p. 4, para. 17.

22. Since the first ECE meeting of governmental experts on water pollution in Europe in 1957, the ECE Secretariat informally consulted on an ad hoc basis the Secretariats of WHO, FAO, WMO, and IAEA with a view to harmonizing their plans and activities in the field of water pollution. With the adoption in 1961 by the ECE of a continuing and wide ranging program in the field of water pollution control and the adoption and extension of programs in other organizations, the above Secretariats began to realize the necessity of continuing the periodic meetings.

The Executive Secretary of ECE, feeling that the ad hoc consultations with U.N. agencies were no longer sufficient to avoid overlapping and duplication, decided to bring into these consultations IGOs (at first OECD in 1961) and to hold the meetings at periodic intervals. On the basis of experience (with OECD) at the first enlarged meeting, invitations were

extended to an even larger number of secretariats to attend subsequent meetings.

In the beginning, the participation of the Inter-Secretariat Meetings changed from year to year. The OECD participated along with the secretariats of the United Nations organizations from the very beginning. Representatives from non-governmental organizations were first admitted in 1963. Since 1968 the list of participating secretariats has remained more or less stable. (See "Thirteen Years of Inter-Secretariat Meetings on Water Pollution and Related Water Questions in Europe.")

23. The first five meetings were held at the ECE Secretariat in Geneva and thereafter rotated among member secretariats. The host secretariat furnishes the chairman who is elected by the meeting and the ECE provides the secretary. (See "Thirteen Years of Inter-Secretariat Meetings," p. 3, para. 12.) In 1974 it was decided that due to increasing budgetary restrictions, future meetings would be held just before or after one of the ECE's water meetings or any other major water pollution meeting of a participating secretariat which would be attended by officials at the expert level.

24. The ACC and its sub-committee were established with the specific function of coordination of U.N. organs. The ACC is intended to have hierarchical authoritative powers. The ACC itself is attended by heads of organizations, while the sub-committee for specific sectors are attended by directors of divisions. Membership is restricted to U.N. organs. The sub-committees are intended to discuss specific programs and activities, but they cannot avoid some discussion of policy since the participants are directors. In practice, discussions generally center around a problem very specific to the U.N. - that of special fund projects. The discussions on regular budgetary activities are discussed briefly in the remaining time.

25. "Thirteen Years of Inter-Secretariat Meetings," p. 5, para. 19.

26. Ibid., pp. 4-5, para. 18.

27. Ibid.

28. Ibid., p. 5, para. 19.

29. Ibid.

30. Ibid., p. 5, para. 21.

31. In order to enable the various participants to prepare themselves for a meaningful discussion, secretariats are requested to circulate before each meeting a written statement on their organization's relevant activities in a common format. There are three sections:

1. Projects completed and publications or documents issued on them since the last statement.

2. Projects under execution. The following information is to be supplied in tabular form: sponsoring body, title of project, method of implementation, state of progress, date of initiation of project, expected date of issuance of results, cooperating organization or secretariat involved.

At the 15th meeting in 1975, it was agreed to add another column entitled "expected results."

3. List of future meetings in tabular form, including date, title of meeting, and remarks. ("Fourteen Years of Inter-Secretariat Meetings," Annex.

32. "Comparative Analysis of the Work of International Organizations in the Field of Water Problem in Europe," Inter-St/Water/12/Add.1 + Addendum 1, 11 May 1979.

33. The goodwill achieved among the participating secretariats is evidenced by the attendance of the CMEA at the Thirteenth Meeting which was held at the Council of Europe. Given the political nature of the Council of Europe, the fact that this was the first time that CMEA had attended a meeting held at a Western European organization, and the fact that there was no fanfare or problems involved, show the significance of the event. It was also possible because of détente and the change in the general political climate which was more favorable to East-West relations.

34. There is only one other example of inter-secretariat meetings. The Council of Europe convened a one-day inter-secretariat meeting in September 1974 to discuss work done and envisaged by IGOs and

non-governmental organizations (NGOs) on urban problems. The meeting was arranged by the Secretariat in response to instructions from the Committee of Senior Officials (governmental) responsible for the preparation of the third Conference of Ministers Responsible for Regional Planning on urbanization. The main purpose of the meeting was to prepare an information paper for the Senior Governmental Officials on the activities on urban problems of the various organizations. The same paper was submitted to the ECE Seminar on National and Regional Planning as frameworks for Local Planning, in May-June 1975, prepared by the Committee on Housing, Building and Planning. (See "An Outline of the Work of Intergovernmental Organizations in Europe on Urban Problems," Council of Europe document, CMAT/HF974) 2, 12 November 1974.)

35. ILO, UNIDO, FAO, UNESCO, WHO, WHO/EURO, WMO, IAEA, IMCO, the Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission (IOC), ECE, UNEP.

36. Commission of the European Communities, Central Commission for the Navigation of the Rhine (CCNR), Council of Europe, CMEA, OECD, the Nordic Council, International Commission for the Protection of the Rhine against pollution, Danube Commission and ICES (International Council for the Exploration of the Sea).

37. At the first consultative meeting convened in Geneva, 21-22 May 1973, at the invitation of the Executive Secretary of UNEP and in cooperation with the Executive Secretary of ECE, the IGOs were the official participants and the U.N. Agencies attended only as observers. Although the Agencies contributed to the discussion, the decisions did not affect them. It was, however, decided by the convening Secretariats (ECE and UNEP) that the second meeting should be all-European in character. This principle has been accepted since.

38. The environmental activities and plans of the organizations in relation to the proposed UNEP objectives and activities were discussed. The participating secretariats agreed to indicate to the UNEP Secretariat "the relationship between their

activities and capabilities and those of UNEP" and "the possibilities of mutual support." The UNEP Secretariat would then specify the areas where cooperation would be desirable or essential.

39. The joint ECE-UNEP preparation and convening of the meeting can be explained by the close working relationship between the Secretariats. UNEP maintains a Liaison Office in Geneva to carry on direct contacts with international organizations and governments in the region on matters related to the UNEP program and Fund. It was agreed that these activities would be carried out in harmony and would be complementary to ECE activities. The close working relationship between the two organizations includes collaboration on certain projects and programs and the development of cooperation and closer contacts among intergovernmental organizations in the European region.

("Cooperation Between the ECE and the United Nations Environment Program," Senior Advisers to ECE governments on Environmental Problems, ECE document, ENV/AC.1/R.3/Rev. 1, 10 January 1974, pp. 4-5, paras. 10-12.) In order to give the ECE additional capacity to carry out these tasks of common concern, two professional and two general service posts were assigned to ECE by UNEP. One of the activities of common concern where the two Secretariats work together is the Inter-Secretariat Meetings.

40. General Assembly Resolution 2991 (XXVII) (15 December 1972) on "Institutional and Financial Arrangements for International Environmental Cooperation" "invites other intergovernmental and those non-governmental organizations that have an interest in the field of environment to lend their full support and collaboration to the U.N. with a view to achieving the largest possible degree of cooperation and coordination."

41. The Environment Coordination Board (ECB) was established under the auspices and within the framework of the Administrative Committee on Cooperation (ACC) as set up in the General Assembly Resolution 2991 (XXVII) "in order to provide for the most efficient coordination of UN environmental programs." The ACC itself took over ECB functions in 1978.

42. The Resolution 2991 (XXVII), however, does invite "the organizations of the U.N. system to adopt the measures that may be required to undertake concerted and coordinated programmes with regard to international environmental problems taking into account existing procedures for prior consultation, particularly on programme and budget."

43. Some of the objectives and uses of the calendar are:

- to provide a complete and current list of environmental meetings and conferences in Europe to participating Secretariats;
- to assist Secretariats in making decisions concerning the location, dates and subjects of their own meetings and concerning participation in others' meetings;
- to provide the basis for the improvement of information flow and results between meetings and for holding consecutive or joint meetings.

44. It was agreed to include the following information: date, location title of meeting, acronym of sponsoring organization, symbol to indicate new or changed entries since last issue, symbol to indicate one of five kinds of meetings and symbol to indicate one of ten principal environmental field(s) or objective(s). The types of meetings include: major meeting or conference, working party, group of experts, preparatory meetings, consultation. This category however was not included in the calendar the first year. The categories used are: air, water, soil and land, solid waste, marine pollution, oceans, noise, natural resources and conservation of nature, energy, human settlements and health, environment (general) or relating to several aspects.

It was recognized that the most serious problem was the clear definition of the type and kind of meetings to be included and the development of a common criteria which would accurately describe them. It was left up to each secretariat to decide which of its conferences and meetings should be included. (Ibid., p. 2.)

45. Ibid., p. 4.

46. The Secretariat of the WHO European Office agreed to discuss the responsibility for initiating the summary on air pollution and for the eventual compilation and circulation of a consolidated summary report to all participating secretariats. The Secretariat of the Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission (IIOC), in close cooperation with the Secretariat of the International Council for the Exploration of the Sea (ICES) agreed to take the responsibility for the summary report on activities related to the marine environment. The preparation of the individual reports according to the agreed format was the responsibility of each secretariat. "In the absence of a commonly accepted definition of environment" each secretariat was to include the activities which it considered relevant. The name and address of officials who could provide additional information on activities was to be listed in the report. (Ibid., pp 4-5).

47. Ibid., p. 4.

48. Ibid.

49. The Secretariats of five organizations submitted information on their current and planned activities in the general field of environment according to the approved format. Despite the support for the common format some secretariats stated that they were unable to submit the information in this form due to limited time and personnel.

50. The Secretariat of WHO European Office agreed to act as the Chairman and be responsible for the organization and summary of the meeting on Air Pollution. IOC, in close collaboration with ICES, would perform the same functions for the meeting on problems of the marine environment.

The Inter-Secretariat Meeting on the Marine Environment was held on 24-25 June 1975 in Geneva. All the organizations which had been invited to the Inter-Secretariat Meeting on Environment plus the International Commission for the Scientific Exploration of the Mediterranean were invited; ten organizations attended (ECE, UNEP, UNESCO, WHO, WHO/EURO, IMCO, IAEA, IOC, Commission of European Communities, ICES. Six organizations submitted reports of their

activities according to the agreed upon format. The discussion on activities was divided into five specific areas and subjects. The meeting attempted to identify overlap in these areas; however, there did not seem to be any. In fact nobody knew how to identify overlapping. Complementary activities were identified and one gap was found. The meeting suffered from the absence of a number of intergovernmental bodies. It was felt that the purpose of future meetings should be to establish contacts between United Nations Agencies and non-United Nations organizations. Also, as much of the discussion related to pollution matters, the possibility of a closer connection with the meeting on Water Pollution should be explored. If the meetings were to continue it was thought to be sufficient to hold them every two years.

The First Inter-Secretariat Meeting on Air Pollution Problems in Europe took place on 12 January 1976 at WHO headquarters in Geneva. It was attended by the representatives of the following organizations: ECE, IAEA, ILO, UNDP, UNEP, WHO, WHO-EURO, WMO, OECD, EC, IIASA, and ISO. It was suggested that statements of activities should follow, as near as possible, the format used by the Inter-Secretariat Meetings on Water Problems and on Environmental Problems. Participants exchanged information on their activities, publications and calendar of meetings. The second meeting was scheduled for January 1978.

51. A limited amount of time at the third session was devoted to the circulation among participants of information on the status, contents, and availability of various documents and publications of common interest. Arrangements were made for further contacts and mutual exchange of information after the meeting.

It was agreed that the Secretariats of UNEP and ECE would serve as a clearing house and circulate to all Secretariats information submitted to them on ongoing and completed projects and documents and such publications and documents received in sufficient numbers. It was also suggested to exchange resolutions on other legal acts adopted by the organizations. (Ibid., p. 2.).

52. "Draft Summary of the Fifth Inter-Secretariat Meeting on Environmental Problems in the European Region," INTER-ST/ENV/5, 20 March 1979.

53. Ibid., p. 4.

54. Smithers, P., pp. 13-14.

55. Ibid., p. 32.

56. "Declaration on the Management of the Natural Environment of Europe by the European Conservation Conference," Strasbourg, 9-12 February 1970, p. 3.

57. As Mahdi Elmandjra points out "The present incoherence in programme coordination is due not only to the absence of an agreement on the concept of programme but also to the very absence, in the case of U.N. . . . of programmes in the true sense." (M. Elmandjra, p. 179.)

58. In addition, the budget should be examined from the point of view of program requirements instead of examining the program in terms of budgetary constraints and administrative demands. As Elmandjra points out, the latter is often the case in U.N. Agencies which leads to the situation where the "objectives are then at the service of the means." (Ibid., pp. 175-179.) This is less the case in the organizations under study, but it is a tendency which should be avoided.

59. Smithers, pp. 34-35.

60. Ibid., p. 35.

61. Ibid.

62. "Second Progress Report of the Administrative Committee on Coordination (ACC) to the Economic and Social Council on the Implementation of the Common Register of Development Activities (CORE)," document of the U.N. Economic and Social Council, E/5804, 23 April 1976, p. 3, para. 7.

63. In the U.N. context, the term project generally refers to support functions of programs which are financed from extrabudgetary funds. In this

study the term has been used indifferently with the term activities.

64. The International Referral System for sources of environmental information is a directory type information system. It is "conceived as a mechanism to interconnect users of environmental information with sources of such information. A user, after addressing a query to IRS, is provided with a selected listing of those sources which are believed to be most likely to assist him . . . IRS is therefore simply a referral mechanism rather than a provider of substantive information on the environment." (See IRS Operating Manual (International Version), first edition, UNEP document EP/IRS/M, August, 1975, p. Ul-1. Also see "Report of the Working Group on Earthwatch," UNEP document UNEP/ECB/ R. 15, 21 November 1975. (Earthwatch consists of the Global Environmental Monitoring Systems (GEMS) and the International Referral System (IRS). The name of IRS was changed to Infoterra in 1979.

65. There are almost 900 subject attributes. (See *Ibid.*, section Cl).

66. This was the case with the UNEP attempt to get information including financial, on the environmental activities of U.N. Agencies and IGOs in connection with its "Level One" report on "Review of Environment Situation and Activities Relating to the Environment Programme." See UNEP documents UNEP/GC/14/14Add.1, 11 January 1974 and UNEP/GC/30, 4 February 1975.

67. IOB states that its task is "to improve communication between organizations without unnecessary involvement in their internal information systems," with the long-range objective of developing "compatible information systems, based on common concepts (which also have to be developed) and related to the management of programmes and projects." "Second Progress Report of the ACC . . .," p. 3, para. 8. See also Report of the "First Regular Session of the Inter-Organizational Board for Information Systems and Related Activities (IOB)," (8-9 February 1971), Geneva, ACC document, Coordination/R.865, pp. 1-2.

68. See "Second Progress Report of the ACC . . . para. 9.

69. See "Information Policy Objectives (UNISIST Proposals)," UNESCO document, SC/74/WS/3, Paris, April, 1974.

70. "Report of the UNEP Inter-Agency Task Force on Data," p. 2, para. 5.

71. Ibid., p. 7.

72. Smithers, pp. 36-37.

73. The theme of international cooperation and coordination on environmental problems is pursued in the author's forthcoming book evaluating the coordination role of UNEP.

CHAPTER SIX

EVALUATION

The next task of this study is to evaluate the intra- and inter-organizational responses to environmental problems. This chapter includes an appreciation of the effect of intergovernmental activities on the action of member governments, and an overview of the factors that affect intergovernmental cooperation.

I. Effect of International Activities on Action of Member Governments

It must be emphasized that it is difficult to determine the effect of international cooperation, on national governments. Nevertheless, it is important (A) to make some general observations on the overall effect of environmental cooperation, and to give reasons for the difficulties in evaluating its effectiveness; (B) to comment on factors influencing the impact of the various types of work, including exchange of information, studies, and legal instruments; and (C) to examine methods of assuring governmental accountability.

A. Overall Effect of Cooperation

Since the early seventies, countries have made significant progress in dealing with environmental problems at the national level. Legislation reflecting shared values has been passed in many countries, and resources have been rechannelled to environmental activities. The reallocation of resources is evidence that governmental responsibility for the problem has been accepted.

To what extent are international organizations responsible for this situation? The motivating factor has, of course, not been international organizations. But if the question is asked: "Would the situation have been the same if there had been no cooperation?", the answer is an unqualified "no." First, agreement to treat any subject in any international organization means that the principle of exchanging views has been accepted, which at the least reduces the chance of potential conflict. Second, there would not have been as much progress in the separate countries if each had not had an appreciation of what was being done elsewhere. Through contact with people from other countries who share the same problems, the participants have acquired the confidence to try solutions in their own countries. This confidence has three aspects:

- confidence that something can be done;
- mutual confidence that once the reality of a situation is exposed, everyone will do something about it, and thus imbalances will not appear in other areas;
- confidence that if one government does something drastic, others will follow suit.

The work so far has had an impact in harmonizing the interests of member governments for action. The fact that governments have been assured that others have the same problems and are seeking measures to solve them, has resulted in a situation where most governments either feel obliged or better able to take similar actions without hurting their national competitive positions. That remedial action has been taken by all governments indicates a certain measure of success.

The difficulty in evaluating the effect of international cooperation on national action stems essentially from the fact that the role of international organizations is less policy formation than the gradual harmonization and coordination of governmental policies and actions. The influence of the cooperative efforts through governmental experts who exchange information and experience and carry out common

studies and assessments is generally indirect and results in evolutionary as opposed to immediately identifiable results. Even in formal agreements, the actual harmonization and agreement on common policy is a long-term activity which is reflected only over time in national programs and legislation.

B. Factors Influencing Effectiveness of Work

The effectiveness of the intergovernmental process depends upon several factors, among them -- the timing, the participation of appropriate qualified experts, the nature and quality of the work, the needs of individual governments, and the relation of the international activities to national priorities. The effect of legal acts also depends upon their binding nature.

The timeliness of the activities is the first point. The first major environmental event in Europe which indisputably influenced both public opinion and governmental decision makers was the organization by the Council of Europe of the European Conservation Year and Conference in 1970 which involved a wide publicity campaign in all member States. An early exercise of ECE proved to be useful in encouraging member countries to examine their environmental problems and their institutional arrangements for dealing with them. The preparation of national monographs, describing their main environmental problems and measures taken to overcome them was a major preliminary step for the Prague Symposium (1971).¹ The monographs often revealed the inadequacies of national action and thus served to speed up or initiate the creation of governmental institutions and environmental programs.

The exchange of information in international organizations has positive repercussions on national action especially when it coincides with the elaboration of national policies. In the past, ECE exchanges have had a definite impact in the field of water. A close look at the water laws in many European countries reveals that they are very similar. This is undoubtedly partially due to the

exchange of information between governments from the late 1950s to early 1970s, when most countries were drafting or revising their water laws. The fact that environmental cooperation is taking place during a formative period when policies and laws are being worked out has and will continue to favor harmonized national legislation. This is already the case in relation to legislation aimed at the prior assessment and at the control of the production, import and use of chemicals and chemical products. (See p. 83.)

The impact of the exchange depends upon the ability of the intergovernmental fora to attract highly qualified and well-placed experts. The success of the OECD Sector Groups in influencing individual and collective action has been partly due to the fact that some of their members have been administrators in positions of direct responsibility who are advisers of governmental policies and in control of budgetary processes. They have been able to return home and implement common agreements. However, none of the organizations have been successful in consistently attracting the appropriate participants. Generally speaking, only a small percentage are adequately qualified to make substantive contributions or to significantly influence policies at home.

The usefulness of studies depends upon their nature and quality. Some of the most effective cooperation of the ECE is that resulting in comparable bases of analysis, including methodologies, data, and statistics. The studies and papers presented at seminars expose governmental policies, new techniques, and solutions to problems. The value and informative nature of these presentations are, with some exceptions, quite satisfactory. This result is important, since the major impact of ECE activities comes through exposure to new ideas and learning from others. The quality of other ECE studies varies between unfocused and general to excellent, specific analytical work. The value of Council of Europe studies varies, but the majority are of a high quality and some are exceptional, as was the study on Soil Conservation,² which is unique in its field. Since the new working methods were adopted in 1973, the quality has

become consistently excellent. The studies,³ which are made and supervised by specialists and are of a scientific and technical nature, frequently serve as a handbook for action by experts. They usually include a detailed analysis of the problem, various prevention and remedial measures taken in member States, and recommendations for action. A problem for all the organizations, is to maintain a consistently high level of work, or at least to eliminate as much of the marginal contributions as possible. Over the past ten years the overall quality of work has improved in all the organizations.

The OECD Sector and ad hoc Groups have concentrated, where possible, on the examination and review of specific policies, based on case studies of available experience provided by the countries. By identifying similarities and exposing differences, the Groups have been able to provide guidance to governments and to identify alternative strategies and policy instruments and their implications. These groups have as a result been able to reach a high degree of agreement on common interests and on common, or at least mutually compatible solutions. This process, which has often led to the drafting of recommendations, has gone a long way towards harmonizing future governmental action, and actual modification of national legislation.

For example, the work on eutrophication⁴ resulted in a consensus on different types of action and policies. The important achievement was the recognition and acceptance of the fact that something could be done and the analysis of what to do about it. Member countries have subsequently begun to change their policies accordingly. The pulp and paper study⁵ gave a first class assessment of feasible technology or precesses that could and should be available in the next ten years.

An original method of the Council of Europe for promoting nature conservation is the European Diploma, which was established in 1965 and continues to be an important part of the work of the European Committee. The European Diploma is awarded "for natural areas, sites or features of international value and particularly of European

interest from the point of view of protection of the natural heritage, by virtue of their scientific, cultural, aesthetic and/or recreational quality, and which are adequately protected."⁶ Placing certain areas under the sponsorship of the Council of Europe is intended to provide an incentive for governments to continue to protect them.² Although it is difficult to ascertain the effect of the Diploma, it is certain that it has influenced governments not to take decisions which might adversely affect natural areas.

The effectiveness of the legal instruments of intergovernmental organizations depends upon several factors. As a rule, recommendations do not change national priorities because locally perceived political imperatives are primary. But if the two coincide, the recommendations can be used to help support national action and can be a great help against vested interests. They can have an important political impact if they are precise and directed to a problem in which a government is engaged. Of the nineteen⁸ resolutions adopted by the Council of Europe in twelve years, four are declarations of principles and twelve are general recommendations. Only two recommend specific principles and one sets out guidelines. The six sets of recommendations adopted in the context of ECE seminars are more a compilation of accepted practices and desirable action. The OECD acts are more precise. While seven represent agreements on broad policy statements, another seven recommend specific action.

Although general declarations and recommendations can, if governments are ready and willing, be used to guide action,⁹ they are too often not specific enough to be of use to administrators searching for practical solutions to actual problems. This point is emphasized in the Council of Europe report on Local Authorities and Natural and Man-Made Environmental Problems in Europe, which discusses the usefulness to governments of material produced in intergovernmental organizations. The following remark is particularly applicable to Council of Europe and ECE work: "Analysis of the declaration and action programs of the international organizations shows that their points of departure, their aims and

their methods are stated in rather vague terms The formulation of these recommendations and directives in general terms is undoubtedly helpful to local authorities, but it does not prevent them from feeling somewhat at a loss as to their practical applicability."¹⁰

In examining the studies and the resulting resolutions or recommendations, one is struck by the differences between the two. Even when the studies are very comprehensive and conclude with very specific recommendations, the final texts are often declarations or recommendations of vague (sometimes almost too obvious) principles aimed at governments for very general policy guidance (or in the case of the Council of Europe, at the general public). What are the reasons for the marked contrast in the specific quality of one part of the work and the vagueness of the other? The final recommendations are based more on political considerations than on consideration of data gathered, analyses of situations, and the subsequent interpretative documentation by the Secretariat and competent experts. Imprecise texts are a result of efforts to obtain unanimous agreement.

This phenomenon within the Council of Europe can partly be explained by its multiplicity of goals. One is to influence public opinion, which would in turn put pressure on public officials to incorporate general principles into policy. Another goal is to influence general policy directions of governments and to promote a European policy. Yet another goal is to help governments solve specific national and European problems and harmonize legislation on these matters. It is on this last point that the discrepancy in action is the most noticeable. A Charter or a general recommendation may be a suitable finale to a study as far as the first two goals are concerned, but it often does not provide sufficiently specific guidelines for action by those directly involved in the problem. In addition, a problem facing the Council of Europe, as well as other organizations, is the lack of political willingness and readiness of member governments to implement recommendations of international organizations.

It should be added that when the background work itself is limited by the lack of knowledge, general recommendations are an understandable consequence. In addition, the significance of cooperation cannot necessarily be determined by the number of instruments adopted or even their content. When policies and actions can be harmonized through mutual understanding, informal agreement, and unanimous reports, it is sometimes thought to be a waste of time to go through all the formal procedures to have a written text. However, the interchange involved in reaching written conclusions can make a valuable contribution in influencing governments. The product is often only a vehicle for orienting change. It brings members of different governments together and forces them to think in a structured fashion. The development of ideas and conclusions through consensus engenders an understanding and commitment which can go beyond the written text.

The binding nature of the agreements is nevertheless important. Member States are not legally obliged to apply recommendation adopted in intergovernmental organizations. The recommendations merely constitute advice to member governments and their application is left to the discretion of members. Implementation, of course, also depends upon the nature of the agreements. It is much more difficult to avoid applying those of a precise nature, because violations are much more easily detected and pressure to adhere is greater. However, when violations are not obvious, which is the case with recommendations of a general nature, pressures for conformity are reduced considerably.

C. Methods of Assuring Governmental Accountability

Despite the non-binding nature of these acts, there are institutional ways of encouraging governments to apply the agreed solutions. A variety of methods have been adopted by the various organizations providing for governmental accountability for the engagements undertaken.

The methods available to ECE for determining the impact and implementation of recommendations are very limited. In the first place most recommendations embody no follow-up or reporting procedures. In the environmental field only the Declaration of Policy on Water Pollution Control asked for these procedures. It invited the member governments to report to the Commission at three-year intervals.¹¹ The Committee on Water Problems reviewed national reports on the progress made in implementing the Declaration and other Committee Recommendations. The exercise was, however, of little interest because the descriptions were too vague and superficial. It was decided that "the repetition of a similar review at periodic intervals would not lead to useful results."¹² In part this conclusion was attributed to the difficulties governments have in supplying the desirable level of details in the basic information and in part to the fact that the Declaration of Policy and the older recommendations were somewhat "outdated."¹³

Every two years member governments are to submit to the Senior Advisers a report on their environmental policy and strategies. But this does not include information on the implementation of recommendations and suggestions made at the seminars. Generally speaking, the impact of ECE recommendations varies. Sometimes governments try to implement them, sometimes they are studied at the expert level, and other times they are ignored.

Of the 35 environmental Charters and Resolutions adopted by the Council of Europe between 1970 and 1975 only six requested governments to submit information on their implementation. And, in fact, the follow-up procedures on these was discontinued because the answers, even when submitted, (which was not always the case) were not specific enough to be useful. Given the fact that one of the major goals of the Council of Europe is to influence national action through the adoption of legal instruments, the lack of effective decision-making powers is the most serious impediment to action.

Concerning the legal instruments adopted between 1970 and 1975, six OECD Recommendations and the Decision on PCBs invite member countries to report on measures to apply the agreements; four of the

recommendations and the decision give specific time limits. The other Recommendations (with two exceptions) instruct "the Environment Committee to assess the action taken pursuant to this recommendation and to report thereon to the Council." The Environment Committee set up reporting procedures regarding measures taken pursuant to these recommendations and decisions.¹⁴ See Table 10, p.134.

A procedure for notification was set up as the mechanism to gather information on the implementation of the Guiding Principles and the PPP. Progress reports were to be submitted annually on Environmental Consequences and biannually on Traffic Limitation. Specific designated information was to be submitted yearly on noise and air and biannually on Eutrophication. Consolidated reports would then be prepared by the Secrerariat. Subsequent work programs would provide information on implementation of the recommendations on energy, water and the effects of chemicals.

Thus, even in the cases where governments were not explicitly invited to report, procedures were established for gathering information about implementation in order to allow the Environment Committee to assess action taken. The existence of specific follow-up procedures gives considerable weight even to recommendations stated in general terms. The follow-up procedures have also been established to help member countries benefit from the achievement and experience of others.

The report prepared for the 1979 Ministerial Meeting shows that countries have taken significant steps to implement the 1974 recommendations. Legislation restricting or prohibiting the use of PCBs has been introduced or passed in many countries. The Common Market adopted a directive on PCBs based entirely on the OECD agreement. Member countries have been successful in implementing the recommendation on mercury especially that used in agriculture and the pulp and paper industry. The work on assessment of toxic chemicals has been influential. By 1979, eight countries had passed and four were developing, legislation calling for advanced assessment, prescreening and control of chemicals. All the legislation shares common

characteristics which reflect the intent of the 1974 Recommendation. The implementation of the Chemical recommendation led to follow-up recommendations and to the adoption of an expanded work program. Follow-up policy recommendations were also adopted on impact assessment, noise and water pollution. The information provided by many countries on their action to implement the 1976 recommendations indicate major efforts in most countries to do so. Data collected indicates that most countries are complying with the polluters-pay principal, especially at the national level and in the case of new plants. Countries are discussing their policies openly and there is collective pressure not to step too far out of line.

Separate comments should be made about the formal agreements adopted in the context of these organizations. The European Convention on the Protection of International Water-courses against Pollution and the Convention on the Conservation of European Wildlife and the Natural Habitats are of an entirely different nature. Once signed and ratified, the signatories will be bound by their contents. The Wildlife Convention is proceeding normally but the Water Convention took over six years to draft -- and as of July 1979 was still not ready for signature.

The only other legal instrument on environment drawn up in the context of the Council of Europe is in the Partial Agreement in the Social Health Field. The European Agreement on Detergents which has the same force as a Convention was signed in 1968 and went into force in 1971 after three States ratified it. It is now in force for six states. However, this process has taken so long that the content of the Convention is outdated because it has been superseded by national legislation.

The regulations worked out in the ECE Inland Transport Committee on emission standards and noise levels for motor vehicles are part of a formal agreement signed by member governments. Compliance is assured by the nature of the agreement and not by reporting procedures or punitive measures. Non compliance would adversely affect a country's export market for automobiles and other vehicles.

Although these requirements have been successful in harmonizing the relevant motor vehicle parts, they have been criticized for not being stringent enough. In fact, they have been drawn up in order to unify the market for vehicles, based upon environmental criteria in national (especially U.S.) legislation. The industries actively support these agreements in order to protect themselves from trade discrimination by individual governments. It must be pointed out, that the difficult task of working out the modalities of the agreement has been successfully completed. Within this framework the standards can be strengthened. It is for the governments to decide that they want emissions lowered and to agree on higher standards.

Because the objectives and powers of the European Communities are of a different nature from those of other international organizations, the tools available can be used to put legal restraints on member governments. The formal acts of the Council of Ministers, which constitute Community legislation, are binding on member States. In the case of regulations, member States must immediately implement the provision; in the case of directives, they must adopt the appropriate national legislation or procedures to bring them into effect. The acts include various provisions to ensure their implementation. A timetable is almost always included and member States are obliged to inform the Commission of laws, regulations, and administrative provisions taken to implement the acts and make periodic assessments of the progress. The latter include information and analysis of surveillance and monitoring operations or preparation and submission of well-defined information. Where appropriate, member States inform the Commission of technical know-how, experience and results obtained in applying the measures. A comprehensive summary of this information is forwarded to other member States by the Commission. Implementation will eventually be assured through the approximation of laws. However, since it was recognized that the above would require a great deal of time and effort, several intermediate measures were foreseen in the environment program. Information supplied by member States on measures to ensure compliance is not only

to be exchanged, but also published, and inspection methods and certification procedures are to be harmonized.¹⁵

The detailed and specific nature of the directives not only ensure that they will be put into effect (violations would be too obvious) but also that they will significantly affect environmental conditions. The Community policy, executed at the national level, will set and unify health criteria, air and water quality standards, water quality objectives, measurement and testing methods, and product standards. It will also harmonize measures for disposal, reduction, and elimination of industrial and consumer wastes, including emission standards. Direct Community financing provides incentives and means to implement measures for the improvement of the natural environment. The nature of the European Communities, the decision-making process, and the binding nature of decisions go a long way toward assuring that the decisions will be applied. Member States generally do not make agreements which they have no intention of applying.

The 1980 State of the Environment Report will review the implementation of the Community legislation enacted so far. In general, most countries are proceeding to implement or to enact the necessary national legislation, although political difficulties have prevented some from going as fast as others. In one case, related to the decrease of sulfur emissions, the Commission is pursuing action in the Court of Justice for non-compliance.

The following conclusions may be drawn about the effect of intergovernmental activities on national action. When countries have wanted to take action, they have learned from others and felt more secure. Moreover, they can and have used intergovernmental work to support and push through national programs. When countries are willing, international organizations can harmonize policies or act as a forum for working out formal agreements. Moreover, the European Community is actually in the process of elaborating Community environmental legislation.

II. Factors Affecting Cooperation

Various factors which have influenced the effectiveness of cooperation and the ability of the organizations to carry out cooperative action are examined next. (A) Political and (B) institutional factors are evaluated first. Then aspects related to (C) the role of secretariats, (D) the role of governments, (E) newness and complexity of the issues, and (F) other factors are examined.

A. Political Factors

Political objectives and the political context play a dominant role in intergovernmental cooperation. This is true for all the organizations, but is particularly apparent in the case of the ECE, which initially existed primarily to promote an exchange of ideas between East and West, and only secondly to work out cooperative arrangements on specific issues. The fact that representatives were discussing problems together meant that the organization had already achieved an initial degree of success. Sub-regional organizations, on the other hand, have no other reason to come together than to carry out activities useful to member States, and they must justify their existence by producing worthwhile results.

Within the ECE, reasons of détente and the promotion of East-West contact were sufficient reasons for early consultations on environmental problems. In general, the United States and the Soviet Union took the major initiatives and kept them where they wanted them. The result of this situation was that the program was often promoted for political and not for substantive reasons. Cooperation reflected how far member governments, especially the super powers, were willing to go at a particular moment. Although the program still reflects a constellation of political factors and is decided on the basis of the political constraints of the organization, substantive arguments and

the urgency of the problems are becoming increasingly important criteria in program development.

ECE activities are determined by the degree of détente. The problem of the participation of the German Democratic Republic caused the work of the Senior Advisers to be postponed for two years (1972-1973) and the nature of the Prague Symposium to be changed.¹⁶ A related problem came up at the Fifth Session of the Working Party on Air Pollution Problems in relation to the participation of the Federal Environmental Agency of the Federal Republic of Germany in the seminar on fine particulates held in Hamburg in December 1975. Poland refused to participate in the seminar if it were attended by a representative of the Agency in West Berlin.¹⁷ In fact, Bulgaria was the only Eastern European country to attend the seminar. Although the same contention has been raised mechanically in other meetings, it has not interfered with further cooperation. The political atmosphere has been particularly positive since the signing of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. In fact, protests are no longer voiced in the meetings themselves. Letters of protest are simply presented to the chairman for information in the report of the meeting.

The efforts to initiate environmental cooperation in the European Communities were not immune from the traditional political debate over the expansion of the role of the Communities' institutions. The question of competence was of major importance until after the adoption of the first environment program in July 1973. The First Communication of the Commission about the Community policy on the Environment,¹⁸ interpreted very narrowly the Communities competence. In sum, the First Communication concluded that available instruments were insufficient and limited to particular problems and sectors, specifically the production of coal and steel and the protection of health against radiation. It further concluded that in order to give the Community institutions power to act, either a unanimous decision by the Council (Article 235), amendment to the Treaty (Article 236), or a decision by the Court of Justice was necessary.¹⁹ The point of view of the First Communication obviously reflected the attitudes of member States at this time, which

were that the Community had not been empowered by the Treaty to act in the field of the environment.

France was most vocal against the expansion of the powers of the Communities' institutions. Although the French Government pronounced themselves in favor of close cooperation at the Community level in the field of the environment in a memorandum transmitted to the Commission 25 January 1972, it favoured doing so through the strengthening of the Council of Ministers at the expense of the Commission. The memorandum proposed the creation of a committee of highly placed civil servants subordinate to the Council which would be in charge of stimulating and preparing environmental cooperation among member States.²⁰ This proposition corresponds to the fundamental French position concerning institutional questions. Reflecting their traditional position in this matter, the Dutch were the most adamant supporters of strengthening the Community institutions and expanding their functions. The position of the other countries were generally closer to the Dutch, although there have been reflections to the effect that some countries felt safe in doing so because of the strong French position which they to a certain extent tacitly supported.

The opinions regarding the competence evolved quite significantly by the time of the Second Communication issued 22 March 1972.²¹ There was no longer a search for competence but a justification of the competence which it claimed that the Communities had in light of the Rome Treaty and EC policy. The Second Communication concluded that "the protection and improvement of the environment are therefore already included in the Communities tasks. They are explicitly or implicitly in their aims, they affect the rules or principles fundamental to the EEC, they fit in, to a varying but increasing extent with EEC policy and the specific activities under the three Treaties."²²

It was assumed that the matter of competence was essentially resolved after the Paris Summit of Heads of State 19-20 October 1972. Point 8 of the final communiqué stressed the value of "an environmental policy within the Community" and

"invited the institutions of the Community to draw up before 31 July 1973, a schedule of activities together with specific deadlines."²³ The heads of governments, however, left themselves a loophole. The communiqué referred to a policy "within the community" (dans) and not "of the community" (de). "Within" implies common action as opposed to Community action, which means that each State would have its own independent program which would be coordinated at the community level. "Of" implies Community action based upon Commission proposals and accepted in the Community context by the Council. The Paris communiqué was nevertheless an official manifestation of interest which authorized the Commission to draw up a program to be considered by the Council

The Program of Environmental Action of the European Communities was forwarded to the Council in April 1973. The Ministers responsible for the environment met on 19 July 1973 in the Council to decide upon it. Despite initial broad agreement to accept the proposals, the traditional political disagreement over the role of the Communities' institutions finally resulted in a compromise, reached well after midnight, which in fact changed the proposals' status. The normal procedure would have been for a resolution by the Council of Ministers adopting the programme. However, some countries anxious to preserve national action at least in some specific fields (in particular Title II: Action to Improve the Environment), insisted that a resolution be adopted by the Council and the member States together. The compromise entailed the downgrading of the usual resolution to a declaration in which the Council and the Representatives of the Governments of Member States meeting in Council declared "that the projects to which this programme will give rise should in some cases be carried out at Community levels and in some others be carried out by member States."²⁴ The initial reaction was that the Community program was downgraded, complicated, and postponed by the declaration adopted. Fortunately, however, the political problems that existed in July 1973 were either resolved or not as serious as they had initially seemed and the Commission was able to go ahead with the implementation of the program as planned.

The environmental question was never a politically neutral subject. There were many who in the early 70s naively hoped to avoid political difficulties on the issues. There was a strong sentiment, even explicitly enunciated by some national and international officials, that due to the gravity of the environmental situation, nations would find it in their self-interest to transcend power politics to find appropriate solutions. Fortunately a more realistic appraisal of the situation quickly followed.

Few, if any, subjects of international cooperation, environment being no exception, can be divorced from the international political setting. The urgency and seriousness of the problem, the breadth of good intentions, and willingness to cooperate have proven to be of little consequence when political questions unrelated to the environment take priority.

In addition to the broader political context international cooperation on environmental matters is intrinsically political when the goal of the cooperation is coordination of policies and influence on national policies. This fact leads us to reflect upon the role of experts and administrators or policy-makers and to the separation of technical and political aspects of a problem.²⁵ That the political dimension interferes with agreement at the technical level and that this should be avoided at certain stages is certainly true. That irrelevant political issues should be avoided to the extent feasible is also obviously true. Cooperation at the technical level is easier even though experts do not always agree. The political, economic, and social components are the most difficult to resolve because they involve value choices, interests, and money. But these are very relevant aspects, which can be avoided only at the expense of realistic, practical solutions. Unless all facets are included there is very little possibility of arriving at meaningful, implementable agreements.

The difference in opinion over the role of experts and administrators or policy-makers stems partly from disagreement about the goals of cooperation. It is often valid and valuable to have technicians meet to exchange views and to

attempt to reach agreement on the technical aspects of a problem. It must be recognized, however, that conclusions are limited to this aspect. This is why the most fruitful cooperation often takes place between highly placed administrator-experts who understand the technical aspects of the problems with which they are dealing but who are also in a position to implement or influence decisions nationally. In terms of influencing national policies this group of people is the most important. There is, however, a limitation to entrusting cooperation exclusively to this group. Although they may agree on common direction of policy, the coordination of national policies is not always as important to them as finding the solution to their own problems. In this case the participation of the foreign ministries is sometimes useful.

B. Institutional Factors

Institutional factors which affect cooperation can be divided roughly into: (1) general orientations, (2) organizational problems, (3) working methods, and (4) resources.

1. General Orientation

The nature and size of the membership sets the boundaries for action. The bigger and more heterogeneous the membership, the more difficult it is to cooperate. Thus, cooperation is the most difficult to achieve in the ECE which has 35 members representing different socio-economic systems and stages of economic development. The different priorities, interests, and modes of working and thinking must all be overcome before cooperative activities can be agreed upon. Cooperation is easier in the regional bodies of limited membership where political and economic outlooks are similar.

A second element is the competence, powers, and general objectives of each organization. A serious institutional weakness of all intergovernmental

organizations is the lack of effective decision-making powers. Resolutions can be adopted only unanimously, and implementation is entirely the prerogative of member governments.²⁶ CMEA countries have been particularly adamant in underlining the fact that recommendations have no force independent of that which the individual countries wish to give them. The European Communities are, of course, different from the traditional international organizations. They constitute a unique and original form of intergovernmental cooperation whose goal is the economic and political integration of Europe. The wide range of competence, legally binding decisions, and recourse to the Court of Justice permit them to implement action with far reaching political and economic implications.

2. Organizational Problems

Organizational problems include conflicting goals and interests and institutional weaknesses. A serious difficulty which has already been discussed in Chapter Two is the division of work between committees and the inadequate arrangements for coordinating their work. But the matter goes beyond cooperative mechanisms. The goals of the groups and the interests of the participants may differ.

To a certain extent, this has been the case between the OECD Environmental Committee and its subgroups. Approximately half the members of the Environmental Committee are diplomats, a fourth come from environmental ministers, and the rest come from economic or other ministries. The diplomats are interested in conflict resolution and codes of good behavior, and the environmental administrators and economists are interested in the trade-offs of environmental and economic aspects of specific questions. The Sector Groups are made up of administrators with a high level of responsibility in the sector concerned. The Environment Committee is more interested in resolving conflicts and the Sector Groups in avoiding conflicts. The Environment committee thus feels that the most important objective is the negotiation of agreements in the

form of recommendations or decisions. The Sector Groups, on the other hand, feel that the best agreements are based on a common understanding through information exchange and analysis, which in themselves help administrators solve their national problems. Informal agreements which do not have to be written are preferred because they reduce the political elements which are an unavoidable aspect of the process of agreeing on formal instruments.

The original uncertainty about the impact and usefulness of legal instruments as opposed to informal agreements was partly responsible for the difference in points of view between the Environment Committee and the Sector Groups. With experience the appropriate role of legal instruments has become more clearly defined. Differences of opinion on this issue have thus been partly resolved.

In relation to all organizations, it should be pointed out that the goals and interests of various groups are not always irreconcilable. In the absence of adequate cooperation at the national level, the burden for achieving an understanding between groups lies with the members of the secretariat. Unfortunately the conflicts between intergovernmental groups are sometimes stimulated by, or a reflection of, in-fighting or lack of cooperation among Secretariat staff.

The Council of Europe has a similar institutional problem relating to the perceptions of interests of different groups. The program of the European Committee for the Conservation of Nature (as that of other committees) must be adopted by the Committee of Ministers which is the only decision-making body of the Council of Europe. The Committee of Ministers is composed of foreign ministers or their deputies who should contact the interested ministries for substantive advice. However, this advice is not always followed due to general policy decisions taken within the foreign ministries. This sometimes leads the Ministers to cut out an item of the program which they feel is not important, much to the dismay of members of the European Committee.

There is, however, satisfactory understanding between the members of the European Committee, the subcommittees, and the expert groups. This is because they are all generally technical, albeit with different responsibilities. The European committee is composed of administrators usually from environmental ministries with some members of foreign ministries. The subcommittees are composed of governmental experts, usually from environmental ministries, and scientists and professors.

Although the Commission of the European Communities had submitted over forty draft proposals to the Council of Ministers of the European Communities by December 31, 1975, only twenty-three (one recommendation, four resolutions, one regulation, seven decisions and nine directives) had been adopted. An institutional weakness common to all areas is that the Council cannot keep up with the Commission proposals. The Council of Ministers responsible for the environment meets only two or three times a year. At each meeting it is possible to put only three to four items on the agenda. Governments are not able to prepare comments and positions on more than this number. Council working groups of the member States must also examine the proposals and give an "avis." This process is delayed by the availability of experts in the member countries, the time and effort necessary for member governments to give them adequate instructions, and the simple lack of meeting time and space. In sum, the institutional procedures to prepare for decisions are difficult and long. Sometimes Council agreement is facilitated by the fact that some of the same experts attend both Commission and Council meetings. However, the original consensus can differ because the members consider more thoroughly the political and economic implications, or because environmental decisions are included in a "package deal" with other issues, which involve a compromise on the various issues.

Although still a problem, the need for action by the Council was not as acute in 1979. It could, however, get worse as the original criteria, standards and rules need to be adapted to new knowledge and technology. This fortunately can be partly alleviated in the future by the use of the provisions in the

Council Resolution of July 1975 on the Adaptation to Technical Progress of Directives or Other Community Rules on the Protection and Improvement of the Environment which allows committees of Member governments, chaired by the Commission, to make revisions without the intervention of the Council of Ministers.²⁷

A serious obstacle to cooperation within CMEA is the application of the principle of sovereign equality of all member countries at all levels of the decision-making process -- in program development (preparation of proposals, decisions on programs, and execution) and in all decisions on organizational and procedural matters. This means that approval by each member is necessary before any action whatever can be taken. Strict adherence to this policy has made decision-making a very time-consuming and cumbersome process, which often stifles even the best of intentions. This procedure was modified in one respect when the institutional structure of the CMEA was reorganized in 1971 at the Bucharest session of the CMEA Council. The possibility of cooperation between only those countries interested means that those not ready to participate in certain programs can no longer block action in a given field.²⁸

An additional encumbrance is the fact that all cooperation takes place on the basis of bilateral and multilateral agreements. Certain economic mechanisms of the planned economies constitute even more serious impediments to effective cooperation. Some of the basic preconditions for multi-lateralism, transferability, and efficient cooperation are lacking -- currency convertibility, realistic price calculations. These drawbacks make themselves felt in every domain of cooperation and divisions of labour among Socialist countries, including that of research and scientific and technical cooperation.²⁹

3. Working Methods

This section evaluates the efficiency of formal and informal working methods.³⁰ The question of the (a) optimum division of labor between secretariats, governments, and consultants is examined first,

along with difficulties resulting from different perceptions of the role of IGOs. The efficiency of working methods in carrying out four of the goals of cooperative action are appraised next: (b) exchange of information, (c) treatment of issues in non-ideological terms, (d) identification of emerging problems, and notification of urgent environmental action.

a. Division of Labour

One of the most fundamental questions is what is the best division of labor between secretariats, governments, and consultants. In order to determine this division, each organization must decide what it wishes to accomplish. The opinions on the desired function of an organization center around, or fluctuate between, two general roles. One is the role of an institute which puts together technical information and produces independent commentary, analysis, and research. In this case the reliance on secretariat and consultant work is high. The second role is the manager of national inputs. Here there are substantial inputs on the part of governments and a relatively small secretariat which organizes and coordinates national contributions. Outputs reflect government views. The ECE and CMEA most nearly reflect the latter and the OECD and the Council of Europe perform both roles.

With a small secretariat staff and very limited resources for consultants, the ECE relies heavily on the contributions of government rapporteurs. Although successful in involving governments, there are several difficulties with this working method. The first is the varying quality of the work which depends upon the government rapporteurs and the time and effort available for their international responsibilities, which they often receive in addition to an already busy national schedule.

The second weakness is that the Secretariat is not always effective in involving governments in a way which coincides with the purpose of the cooperation, which is to get governmental experts to exchange views rather than to talk about a report on a topic. The discussion of a report prepared

by the Secretariat places governments in the position of agreeing or disagreeing with the Secretariat. In order to favor an exchange, government rapporteurs prepare papers. However, they are usually prepared individually, are too long, and say too much or too little. A better arrangement would be to have rapporteurs prepare parallel coordinated reports and then to bring them together to discuss the subject during the preparatory process as well as with the whole group. The new working method, the task force, which consists of rapporteurs from a small number of interested countries with a "lead" country taking the main responsibility for coordinating inputs, has been more conducive to avoiding the latter weakness and has opened up opportunities for expanding the work program. So far governments have been willing to take on the responsibility for such work.

Within the European Committee for the Conservation of Nature of the Council of Europe, the Secretariat prepares the key documents including the draft resolutions and charter project proposals, certain reports and surveys. The basic work on many projects is done at the meetings of the ad hoc expert groups, which examine work of the Secretariat or studies prepared by consultants. Funds are available for five consultants who work on studies many of which last more than one year. The role of experts as members of ad hoc groups or as consultants is very important in reaching an independent consensus on the technical aspects of a problem, including conditions and methods for solution, before the political elements are added. This working method, which gives the Secretariat discretion in calling ad hoc groups to study specific problems, is one of the organizational assets of the European Committee. It allows problems to be tackled from a strong scientific base, providing the technical basis for drawing up meaningful legal instruments. The efficiency and output of the European Committee has increased considerably since this method was adopted in 1973.

Governments are generally not asked and do not volunteer to submit reports or studies, although any work which has already been undertaken is furnished as background information. Government contributions are occasionally requested on the basis of

questionnaires. But this practice has been reduced because it does not work well. Governments receive too many questionnaires from international organizations and either do not respond or do so incompletely. The possibility of publicizing its work and diffusing its studies directly to non-governmental groups and to individuals through the Information Center adds a very important dimension to the Council's work.

Within the OECD, the division of work between the Secretariat, consultants, and governments varies considerably. In general, however, governments furnish much of the basic information in the form of national case studies on specific experiences. Much of the economic data is gathered independently by consultants. The synthesis and analysis is done by the Secretariat, with the help of consultants. Concentration on independent analysis is due to the fact that governments hesitate to criticize themselves and others and they feel that the OECD analysis is neutral. This division of work is made possible by a considerable secretariat staff of approximately twenty professionals and numerous consultants (work totalling approximately ten man-years). Although the Secretariat has tried to turn to the governments for analytical work, the latter have generally been either unable or unwilling to undertake such work. Since 1975 governmental participation has increased. The "lead country" approach has been adopted whereby a country offers to receive and assemble information. Analysis is still carried out by the Secretariat. This method of work has allowed the Environmental Committee to maintain its previous work load with stable or decreasing secretariat resources. So far governments have been willing to volunteer responsibility for such work.

Not only does the CMEA rely almost exclusively on governmental contributions for the substantive work, but member countries themselves take a large part of the responsibility for coordinating the national inputs. The work of the small secretariat in Moscow (approximately four persons for the environment) is reduced to organizing the meetings and preparing papers for the Council for Environmental Protection and to coordinating the

work between CMEA bodies. The Coordination Centers, the functions of which are performed by national institutions, organize and coordinate research; elaborate program proposals; collect and distribute information; and organize symposia, consultations and training activities. All the research is carried out in national institutes, which also take the responsibility for the coordination of sub-tasks.

CMEA working methods are the most decentralized and involve the greatest amount of government participation. Although it is too early to evaluate the new methods, experience so far seems to indicate that they could be potentially quite effective. The most important factor is that the Coordination Centers and the contributing national organizations have the right to communicate directly. This eliminates many restrictive bureaucratic procedures. It is much easier to stimulate interest and harmonize programs when those responsible are directly involved. It is also easier to follow the progress of the work.

The organizational arrangements of the CMEA in the field of the environment attempt to avoid creating a body that brings together only major state groups or bodies with general responsibility for the environment. Instead of concentrating action, the CMEA feels that each branch at each level should be mobilized. The central body should only make arrangements to coordinate, check and give ideas. Following this overall approach, the main task of the Environmental Council is to show the Permanent Commissions, Council of Representatives, and Coordination Centers what the major problems are and to stimulate action in all these groups.

As the above discussion shows, there are several reasons for the different divisions of work within the organizations. One is resources. The fewer resources, the more an organization is obliged to rely on governmental contributions. The willingness and capacity of governments to participate is also an important factor. In addition, some methods are better suited to certain objectives than others, i.e., objective technical reports are a necessary basis for drawing up legal instruments. And of course, much depends on what role governments

wish organizations to play. OECD governments obviously desire an in-house analysis of their inputs. This analysis is one of the strong points of OECD work. The basic organizational ideologies also differ. ECE methods, for instance, have been based on the principle that government involvement makes cooperation more meaningful and useful.

Even after recognizing the above points, one may still conclude that governmental involvement in the cooperation process within the organizations has been inadequate quantitatively and qualitatively, resulting in less than maximum outputs. Admitting the validity of certain analytical tasks, the most important role of international organizations is nevertheless to serve as managers or coordinators of national inputs. Fortunately, new working methods indicate that efforts are being made in this direction. However, most governments and some secretariats still do not think of international organizations in these terms. Governmental attitudes are reflected in the frequent references to international organizations as "it" and not as "we." It is simply easier for governments to delegate than to assume responsibility. On the secretariat side, writing reports is easier than managing the inputs of numerous governments. Admittedly, it is a difficult requirement to organize and manage a program which is essentially carried out by governmental experts with whom the secretariat may have no or little personal contact.

An important step to reverse this process would be to give more importance to management qualifications in the selection of secretariat staff. The problem is, of course, that technical competence is also necessary, and it is very hard to find individuals with both talents. The technical work could be done by consultants if the organization has sufficient resources. But managers still need a certain degree of technical knowledge to choose consultants and to evaluate work done by consultants or governments. The OECD has been able to give particular importance to managerial talents when hiring staff (broad knowledge and ability to express oneself are also considered important) precisely because it can rely on consultants for the technical

details. Skill in more effectively involving countries would do much to expand the capacities of organizations. The increased productivity should be enough to convince governments of the desirability of the latter methods.

A related problem is the different perceptions of the role of intergovernmental organizations by governments and secretariats, which sometimes leads the latter to distort the instructions of governments. Countries usually see intergovernmental organizations as an extension of national problem-solving. Secretariats do not always see it this way. Governments may want only a statement of the problem, an indication from other governments as to how the problem presents itself in their countries, and a description of what is being done and who is doing it. Then they can follow up any interesting information individually. Secretariats generally want to summarize national surveys to give them an international perspective. This may not always be useful. Sometimes even the initial surveys do not give adequate information, because not enough countries respond and the answers are of diverse quality. Needless to say, in this case the subsequent summaries do not provide much practical information either. In sum, secretariats are not always effective in responding to the needs of governments or in involving them in the implementation of the work program. But then governments are equally responsible for knowing and clearly stating what they want. This is not always the case.³¹

b. Exchange of Information

One of the raisons d'être of international organizations is to provide a forum for the exchange of information. The OECD Sector Groups have been successful in achieving a high degree of mutual understanding through the exchange of information. Although the exchange has not always led to the negotiation of formal agreements, a greater degree of policy harmonization than would have otherwise been the case has resulted. The quality of the exchange has been possible partly because of the nature of the participants, many of whom are

national administrators with direct channels to their national technical and research communities. The success of information exchange obviously depends on the input and cooperation of these communities. Another advantage, which applies to other areas as well, is the frequency of meetings (the Committee and its subgroups generally meet three times a year), which makes it possible to accomplish a lot in a relatively short period of time.

The ECE Senior Advisers have not been able to achieve productive, in-depth discussions on national environmental policies and strategies at their annual meetings. Several techniques have been introduced which have helped to reduce the often boring national statements, but little dialogue or debate has resulted. Limiting the annual discussion on policies to a small number of selected topics and basing the biannual discussions of national situations and trends on a summary report of country statements has helped. The choice of the topic of energy for the 1980 discussion does show the countries' willingness to confront sensitive issues. More effective ways of conducting the exchange are needed, however, if they are to become real dialogues. It is perhaps unrealistic to expect more from a meeting with over one hundred participants. The fact that they have been quite fruitful in identifying areas of cooperation is the most important result, given the fact that the in-depth discussions are carried out in working parties and ad hoc groups of experts and seminars. The substantive contributions of the latter meetings have been considerable.

The public character of most of the scientific and research institutions of the CMEA countries facilitates the exchange of information, as does the decentralized mechanism for the exchange. Patents and know-how developed in public institutions are more susceptible to free exchange. However, there are impediments. Researchers are not always willing to share their best ideas and some countries keep their most advanced work to themselves because of possible military application. The reluctance to share ideas on the part of even one country naturally affects the cooperation of the rest. Researchers are not always interested in cooperation and do not want to waste their time attending meetings.

The choice of participants is also a problem. Administrators with limited knowledge on the topic sometimes attend instead of qualified experts. The experts that do attend often do not speak Russian so their contribution is dependent upon the technical ability of the interpreters who accompany them. The fact that the work of most countries (as in all organizations) has to be translated slows down and adds an additional expense to cooperation.

c. De-ideologizing Issues

A related objective of the ECE is to state issues in non-ideological terms and to act as an interpreter of similarities and contrasts, in aims and methods of operation, between the social and economic systems of Europe. The ECE has been successful from the very beginning in avoiding ideological confrontations on the nature and solutions to environmental problems. Even at the Prague Symposium where broad environmental policies and problems were first discussed, the exchanges were of a substantive and not ideological nature. The members from both Eastern and Western European countries are interested primarily in learning from others in order to find solutions to their commonly shared problems. Work suffers not from the willingness to discuss similarities and differences of policies and solutions between the different systems, but more from the nature of the discussions where only the positive aspects of government policies are presented. The treatment of specific case studies of mistakes and lessons learned is an unexploited, although recently more common, type of cooperation.

The ECE approach of avoiding doctrinal and political confrontations by working on concrete well-defined problems at the expert level in autonomous, informally run committees or task forces has been most successful in creating a favourable climate for cooperation. A sort of "Club mentality" has resulted. Already the Senior Advisers respect each other as professionals representing their various governments and can communicate frankly on a personal level.

d. Identification of Emerging Problems

One of the original objectives of the OECD Environment Committee was the identification of emerging problems. This was to be done informally within the Sector Groups which were to report to the Environment Committee and formally through the notification or early warning system.³² The Sector groups have adequately carried out their function of early warning to the Environment Committee on emerging problems.³³ The informal "people to people" procedures of the Sector Groups have in fact been much more successful than the formal "government to government" notification system, which suffers from two basic weaknesses. In the first place, formalizing notification of governmental measures means that transmittal of this information has to take place high in the authority structure. However, the detailed information that is needed is developed far from the international communication points in the national hierarchies. Second, for notification to be valuable, it should precede the statutory procedures in each country. However in a parliamentary democracy, this is often an infringement of parliamentary privilege.

Experience has shown that notification as an advanced warning process must be informal to be effective and should take place in the Sector Groups where the participants have similar interests. After the problem is recognized, its definition can be entrusted to a knowledgeable group and consultation can be designed to fit the problem. It is interesting that although the formal notification procedure was extended indefinitely, attempts to use it have proved the above observations. Thirty-one notifications have been received, but only one consultation has been held (on PCBs). Although it followed the formal procedure, it served mainly to confirm the political will of Member governments to proceed with the decision on PCBs which had already been drafted by the Sector Group on Unintended Occurrence of Chemicals.

Agreement to continue the notification system was in fact a recognition of the value of the principle of consultation, which has been effective informally in the Sector Groups. The value of a regular, informal

dialogue on national developments is considered so useful that the Sector Group on Unintended Occurrence of Chemicals initiated a process of presentations at each meeting of relevant national events for information and discussion. Urgent problems are raised for immediate consideration and advice and for further investigation when desirable. One disadvantage of the project approach working method is that even when an emerging problem is identified, it takes more time to go through the procedure of having it approved by the Environment Committee. Furthermore, the problem may not be approved if it is not given priority by Secretariat members of the Environment Committee.

The creation of the complementary information exchange procedure, (see p.148) which provides for direct reporting between national contact points, illustrates a willingness to find an even faster and more effective method of notification. Although initially the procedure was used primarily for actions already taken, it is increasingly being employed for action in the draft stage. It is even being used as a communications network to request information, invite participation and disseminate information quickly on meetings.

The European Communities' Agreement on Information, whereby member governments notify the Commission of envisaged environmental measures in order to harmonize urgent environmental action has worked out satisfactorily. By 31 December 1975, the Commission had received sixty-nine draft provisions³⁴ and had applied the above procedure in twenty cases which in fact refer to twelve areas of action. Two directives adopted by the Council, on the quality of surface waters for drinking and on the elimination of waste oils, were drawn up following notifications. Ten others, including air pollution by sulphur dioxide and the sulphur content of motor fuels, are under preparation. By 1978, the commission had received 215 notifications and informed Member States of the Commission's intention to prepare Community measures a few more times.

As the arrangement constitutes a gentleman's agreement which does not formally bind member governments, there was originally doubt whether member States would voluntarily submit their legislative proposals to the Commission out of fear that it would stop national action. A draft Council decision to the same effect which would have been binding was, in fact, drawn up by the Commission but never adopted. The member countries have voluntarily submitted their proposed legal and administrative measures making the decision unnecessary. In a certain number of cases, however, regulations have been sent at too late a stage to permit drawing conclusions for Community action.³⁵ Another problem is that the texts are received at irregular intervals, making it impossible to get an accurate global picture of the policies pursued at national and regional levels. This obviously increases the difficulty of harmonizing Community policies or coordinating national programs.

4. Resources

The resources at the disposal of each organization determine the amount and type of work that can be done. The substantial resources of the European Community have allowed it to do a tremendous amount of work in a very short time. One million units of account per year allocated for studies and 70,000 u.a. for meetings permit the Commission to conduct all the necessary studies and to convene as many consultative and expert meetings as needed. The Commission, however, does complain about insufficient personnel. The Commission was nevertheless able to complete approximately 70-75% of the program within the designated two-year period ending in 1975. Given the extremely ambitious program, which was really too much to be accomplished in only two years, the amount of work carried out was impressive.

The resources and institutional structures exist for the research necessary to implement the program. The European Community is equipped to do research directly at its Joint Research Center. In the case of indirect research, where the actual work takes

place in national institutions and the Community pays up to 50 percent of the costs, the Community is still in a position to impose the topics, protocol, measurement techniques, and timing of the research. Even in the case of concerted action, where research is financed and carried out at the national level, the General Directorate on Research, Science and Education is in a position to finance and organize all the secretariat and supporting functions necessary to ensure that the research is properly coordinated. The Community has the resources and the authority to arrange for information and data exchange and collection systems and to finance common action.

The resources at the disposal of the intergovernmental organizations are much more restricted and thus limit their activities. Effective working methods can sometimes partially be substituted for resources. An example is the Group of Experts on Urban and Regional Research of the ECE. The methods worked out by the Group have been extremely successful in producing very concrete and useful projects for facilitating and actually performing research cooperation (see p. 126). The amount of work done independently of the ECE Secretariat in the form of colloquia and exchange of information shows the importance and usefulness of the work for the national researchers and institutes. A U.N. trust fund, supported by direct contributions from several member governments is being set up to support this work, which also attests to the success of the established group.

The Council of Europe will not be able to make ecological maps as recommended at the Ministerial Conference because this is a much too expensive undertaking. Insufficient staff and funds limit the activities of the Council of Europe's Information Centre for Nature Conservation which must rely heavily on free publications that it can procure in bulk.³⁶ The above, the two regular publications, and other documentation are distributed by government appointed liaison officials, who also organize the publicity campaigns at the national level. The system itself of liaison officers works well but the fact that they are often burdened with other duties prevents them from devoting enough

time to the Centre's activities. The quantity of European Committee studies printed is not sufficient to reach the general public or even all the private groups working on the problem. Only several hundred copies of each are available for distribution through the national agencies, although it is hoped the number will be increased.

5. Conditions for Effective Cooperation

The discussion of institutional factors concludes by looking at the eight conditions which enable organizations to operate effectively, as set out by Eugene Skolnikoff in his study on The International Imperatives of Technology.³⁷ Comments on these conditions will relate them to international cooperation on environmental problems.

First, there are three conditions which, however desirable, cannot apply owing to the complex nature of environmental problems.³⁸ Those characteristics permitting international organizations to act effectively most noticeably absent in the area of environment are: (1) the "specialized nature of an organization," and (2) the "technical subject matter" which is (3) "of only moderate political or economic interest." The technical, economic, political and social aspects are all important and interrelated. Therefore any attempt to compartmentalize aspects in specialized organizations or to ignore one or more aspects would be to misunderstand the problem itself.

In one case the opposite seems to be true -- "little public attention is paid to the organization or its subject matter." One of the reasons for the reluctance of governments to act is the lack of priority given to environment. More public exposure to the problems and more public commitment to environmental values, with the consequent pressure on governments to act, would encourage and force governments to act nationally and internationally.

Two conditions do apply. Organizations should have a "clearly defined and agreed mission and boundaries." This characteristic applies to their

broad programmatic goals as well as to their individual projects, and thereby helps to streamline the work of each organization and to facilitate the relations between them. That "members are limited to those with direct interest" is obviously an advantage. But all countries have an interest in environmental cooperation. The difficulty lies in finding common interest. This is achieved more easily in organizations with a limited membership. Relying on a "small secretariat and on national experts" as opposed to trying to maintain a large secretariat with technical competence is in general the most effective policy. If the former is to be effective, the secretariat must possess sufficient managerial talents to be able to administer the national inputs. The balance between the two also depends on the type of work the organization wishes to perform. Independent analysis cannot be done by governments. When this is the goal, hiring experts for specific and limited tasks is preferable to building up in-house competence.

In the past, it was possible to have organizations which were "dominated by one or a small number of countries that are in substantial agreement, with an organizational structure that reflects domination." The challenge to international organizations today is to attain this agreement without dominance.

C. Role of Secretariats

Another set of factors which affects all organizations concerns the international secretariats. International bureaucracies face many serious problems, one of the most important being that of staffing: how to recruit and retain competent individuals within the limits of an equitable geographical distribution and how to maintain a balance between staff mobility and the retention of competent staff in order to maintain continuity and imaginative personnel. In addition there are growing political pressures by governments which interfere with the appointment and promotion processes. Other problems which are inherent in any bureaucracy but which seem to be magnified at the international level are the lack of

responsibility, the tendency towards inertia, infighting, and domination of personal interest. Efficient administration is impeded by the above factors as well as by the difficulties of communication and comprehension among multi-national staff. Under these circumstances, it is not always easy to maintain the quality and impartiality of the work.

Regardless of the manner or reasons for the division of work and responsibilities between governments and secretariats, the latter have considerable power and leeway in the implementation of work. Their management skills and ability to mobilize governments are very important for the success of intergovernmental cooperation. Secretariats assume the principal role for servicing and making the technical as well as political preparations for meetings of intergovernmental bodies. Their active participation makes it possible to exert a decisive influence, especially in short meetings, where most of the decisions conform to their suggestions put forth in working papers and draft proposals. The informal character of the consensus process gives secretariats more weight because it is their duty to formulate the conclusions of meeting "which are most often the only written record of the decisions adopted and which in turn become the instructions for the staff during the intervals between meetings." Because of the permanent character of the secretariats,³⁹ the staff are in a position to draw their conclusions in such a manner as to pursue a policy aiming at the attainment of certain objectives formulated by the secretariat.⁴⁰

Secretariats often participate in the substantive discussions of meetings. Through interventions they are able to influence the general tone, direction, and outcome of debates. In fact the whole general atmosphere of cooperation of each organization is largely created and maintained by the secretariat, not only through its preparation and participation in meetings, but also through the development of official and personal contacts, and through the organization and carrying out of concerted action.⁴¹ These remarks should serve to underline the importance of a competent, well-run secretariat.

D. Role of Governments

Another group of factors influencing the effectiveness of cooperation includes the attitudes, organization, and means of governments. A decisive factor is the will of member countries to cooperate. In all the organizations the general attitude towards cooperation on environmental problems has always been positive. At the Prague Symposium, for example, the atmosphere was so friendly that during the adoption of the final report, the participants were willing to avoid interventions on some very controversial points in order to finish with an approved draft report. It was obvious that the participants saw the issues in terms of a common and not a competitive framework. In fact, one of the most important accomplishments of the Symposium was the manifestation of a general will to cooperate in the field of the environment. Nevertheless, international or national political problems are sometimes considered more important by certain member governments. For example, due to the controversy over the participation of the German Democratic Republic, it was not possible to convene the Senior Advisers between 1972 and spring 1973 or the Working Party on Air Pollution for its annual meeting in 1973 (see p. 265). But this in no way reflected a desire to slow down cooperation on the environment, which continued during this period in other subsidiary bodies.

Despite the positive atmosphere in general, the lack of national desire, willingness, and ability to act have affected cooperative efforts. Some governments simply have not wanted too much to be done too fast. This sentiment is expressed in arguments which seem valid to their authors but appear to others to be excuses to slow down or block action. Such arguments insist that the role of international organizations is not to tell countries what to do, and emphasize the importance of working out all technical details before an activity can proceed to the next step. Governments have not always favored evaluation and assessment, because they are unwilling to have their own policies judged by others. They sometimes avoid assessments or development of common policy for fear of exposing the weaknesses of their own policies,

which they feel obliged to defend publically. But this is also a question of achieving mutual understanding and respect. When exchanges take place in an atmosphere of confidence, where the goal is learning and not criticism, this type of cooperation has been possible.

What is sometimes mistakenly taken to be a lack of desire for action is actually the inability of governments to cooperate. Methods cannot be unified when some countries simply cannot apply them because they do not have the necessary equipment or infrastructure. The economic and technological basis must exist in order to unify measurement methods, measurement and control equipment and standards.

Inability to cooperate also stems from inadequate national structures and policies. In the middle sixties, the work of the Council of Europe was crippled by the lack of conservation policies within member countries, who considered this area to be of rather low priority. As a consequence, there was often no one in the national administrations directly responsible for the whole of these activities. Participants to the Committee consisted of scientists, professors, museum directors, and a few civil servants generally from the ministries of agriculture and education. Each delegate was competent in certain areas only. While it was thus not difficult to get recommendations through, there was no one to receive or act upon them in the national administrations.

Cooperation in the other organizations was also impeded by participants who had no authority to commit their governments on even minor points. However, governments began reorganizing their machinery in the late sixties and early seventies to deal more effectively with environmental problems. This reorganization has had a beneficial influence on the composition of the various committees. Governments are now able to send representatives with responsibilities for environment in their national administrations.

This situation remains, however, for the Council of Europe Subcommittee for Information and Training. Member countries often have no one responsible for

environmental education at a governmental level and no experts on the subject. The participants thus are often not working in this area and have no related governmental responsibilities. Furthermore, if member countries do not have national policies, it is difficult to expect that an international policy can be devised. Ecological planning on the international level is similarly handicapped. Many countries have been concerned with the immediate problems of pollution control, but they have not developed long-term ecological plans. In fact, they sometimes do not even have adequate short-term policies. It is understandable that countries would want to defer international cooperation until they have worked out their national strategy. This was particularly the case with the Eastern European countries in the ECE during the early seventies.

The substantive weakness of action stems mainly from the fact that governments do not want or cannot pay the price to implement comprehensive environmental programs. Although this situation is becoming less of a problem for some types of pollution control, it is still very true of nature conservation. Governments either do not have the resources or are unwilling to commit themselves to nature conservation. This field has so far been of relatively low priority, particularly since this type of conservation almost inevitably conflicts with economic interests.

Other factors are simply the difference in needs and interests of individual countries, which have different social and economic development objectives and priorities, assimilative capacities, geographical size and location, and population density. In addition, there are distinct differences of views between polluting and polluted countries. For example, upstream countries are much less interested in controlling water pollution than the downstream countries.

E. Newness and Complexity of the Issues

A third group of factors relates to the nature of environmental issues. The first point is that cooperation has been affected by the recent political

consciousness of the threats to our environment. In the early seventies the main themes of exchanges centered around a search for its definition, identification of where the common interest lay, and a division of the problem according to their national, regional, and international aspects. Although these themes play a continuing role in international cooperation, the initial discussions were necessary in order to clarify issues enough to make it possible to determine where specific cooperation was necessary and feasible. What appeared to be a reluctance to cooperate on environmental matters by certain countries in the beginning was more a reflection of novelty and a question of identifying mutual interest on issues and types of cooperation. This was particularly the case in the ECE and CMEA. In addition, international cooperation is very much a function of the time it takes governmental representatives to know each other and develop a working group or club atmosphere. The initial encounters served the purpose of enabling new people in a new field to get acquainted.

The initial elementary nature of the discussions can be partly explained by the fact that in the early seventies an increasing number of people were suddenly involved in an area about which they knew relatively little. Governments decided to take action nationally and internationally without the resources or experience to support these efforts. The general competence was obviously low due to the influx of new people to a new field. An initial function of international organizations has been to help educate these people.

Difficulties also stemmed from the fact that the participants in multilateral bodies had not dealt with each other before. It takes time to develop the common basis for mutual understanding among members who represent a variety of national backgrounds and speak different languages. It takes even longer to attain this rapport between two groups, especially when some of the subgroups (as was the case in OECD) have been accustomed to reporting to a hierarchically higher body with which they had developed an understanding and then suddenly were instructed to report to a new committee.

It must be appreciated that when the organizations were reorganized to deal with the environment, there was very little national or international background upon which to draw. The initial enthusiasm and superficial understanding of environmental problems concealed their complexity. In the late 1960s and early 1970s environment was considered a large neglected area where qualitative judgments could, if studied, be taken into account and be made quantifiable. It was not appreciated at the time just how difficult and how long a process it would be to attain an adequate scientific and economic foundation upon which to base environmental policies. Many physical aspects of environmental effects still remain undefined.

A specific example of this state of affairs is to be found in air pollution. During the first half of the 1970s, there were important developments in abatement techniques and widespread measurements of air pollution so that the investigation of emissions and the monitoring of occurrence no longer limit the development of air pollution control policies. However, air pollution management, the selection of cost-effective solutions, and thus international action are limited by the lack of information on the relations between effects and exposure. This was precisely the case of the OECD Air Management Sector Group, which was unable for the above reasons to follow up its Technical Cooperative Program to Measure the Long Range Transport of Air Pollutants with proposals for international action.

The work of the European Communities to establish health criteria or dose effect relationships for certain pollutants has run into numerous difficulties. These include the scarcity, or even absence, of adequate reliable and objective statistical and scientific knowledge; the difference of opinions between experts; the use of different methods of measurement which are hard to compare; and the complexity of the studies needed. In addition, this work must take into consideration activities of other international organizations and must be coordinated with this work, especially with WHO. Work on health criteria is going forward, but it is now accepted that the preparation of such estimates will take

a long time. In fact, a great part of the second research program is devoted to obtaining the necessary knowledge for the establishment of health criteria. The preparation of the corresponding air and water quality standards will, as a consequence, be held up. (The preparation of water quality objectives, product standards, and directives on consumer wastes are, however, proceeding on time.)

The unavailability of data on the cost of industrial pollution control has been a particular problem for the OECD. These data are essential for any kind of environmental control measures on international trade and a prerequisite for the assessment of the impact on industry of environmental control measures. Some industries have refused to give data out of fear, suspicion, or concern over plant data confidentiality. The aluminum industries united internationally in refusing to give information. Although they agreed to do their own report, the output was not considered satisfactory. In other cases the industries either do not have the data, or it would be very expensive to assemble.

Neither is the work of the European Communities on specific industrial sectors proceeding as fast as anticipated due to the complexity and extent of the various technical, economic, and social problems involved. The Commission prepared proposals only for the pulp and titanium dioxide industries. The former is still under discussion and the latter was adopted in 1978. Neither the results of the second stage studies, involving ten other industries, nor proposals are ready.

In sum, over-confidence concerning the technological, scientific, and economic evidence that could be brought to bear on environmental problems resulted in the formulation of overly ambitious objectives for both the OECD Environment Committee and the European Communities.

Solutions to environmental problems must be approached carefully and methodically. A logical approach is as follows:

- a. Definition of the issues.
- b. Establishment of the factual situation. Data on occurrence and effects must be collected on an internationally comparable basis.
- c. Examination of the cost of the options. In discussing possible strategies, it must be kept in mind that they may vary according to different national conditions and priorities.
- d. Evaluation of and agreement on the implications of the various options.
- e. Recommendation of the most appropriate policy options, as agreed upon by the group.
- f. Agreement on how information should be reported on the implementation and effectiveness of the policy options recommended.

As far as the OECD Environment Committee and its subgroups are concerned, when their work has not resulted in policy assessments or action recommendations it has been due partly to the fact that they have not yet reached the final stage outlined above. It takes several years of preparation for the Groups to be in a position to examine and evaluate policy options. However, as recent results have shown, once the Group has gone through all the logical steps, conclusions, and in many cases recommendations, are forthcoming.

International organizations are further restricted by the complex nature of environmental problems. They cannot recommend specific policies where national strategies, priorities, and circumstances vary. Furthermore, possible future changes in technology necessitate flexible options. This explains why recommendations must often be formulated in rather general terms. The extent to which international organizations can play a decisive role in policy formation is limited since it implies that participating sovereign countries follow the same course of actions. Occasionally, however, this can be achieved when a problem is sufficiently specific. One example of this is the OECD decision to control PCBs.

On the other hand, IGOs can play a very important role in harmonizing approaches, so that the member countries adopt policies that go in the same direction. In relation to testing and measuring methods, standardization is often not possible because there are not enough laboratories and what is to be measured often differs from country to country. However, agreement can be reached on the information to be exchanged, the dissemination of results, and compatible testing methods which allow experts to communicate with each other.

An intergovernmental organization can to a certain degree limit the freedom of behavior of states and reduce the variety of responses. They can bring boundary conditions into existence and they can arrive at broad judgments, but they cannot solve local problems. Any attempt to enter into the regulatory and statutory field in order to generalize and specify certain principles is bound to run into difficulties. These difficulties have arisen when trying to specify and define the exception to the polluter-pays principle (PPP), which aim at adapting the general principle to local conditions. The exceptions are in fact more a subject of conflict of policy between different interests within countries than between the countries themselves. As the PPP has shown, the implementation of broad principles is difficult when member countries have different and conflicting internal reasons for supporting them.

Topics being treated under Title II of the European Community Environment Program, "Action to Improve the Environment," present similar difficulties. Whereas pollution control is logically dealt with through the drawing up of legal instruments, the types of problems related to the natural, urban, and working environments; natural resources; and education are of a more general nature and are not easily the subject of directives. Pathways, philosophies, and approaches can be worked out, but most of these subjects do not lend themselves to concrete proposals or to an easy consensus. There was initially disagreement as to whether or how the Community should be more involved in this area. A consensus now more or less exists that Community action should be taken, but the type of action has not yet been determined.

The complex nature of the environmental problem, which has forced a holistic approach on the planning process, has had a profound impact on national and international decision making. Several specific effects are the following:

First, the traditional sectoral approach of organizing political institutions has been disturbed. The difficulties of achieving a multisectoral approach in intergovernmental organizations has already been demonstrated (see Chapter Two). Problems at the international level reflect a similar national disarray. One of the first and very practical difficulties was the organization and division of work among governmental departments. As the multisectoral nature of the problem makes clear, environmental considerations should be of concern to all sectors of society. This means that the answer cannot be found by simply creating another department. At the same time there is no clear-cut method of dividing up responsibilities between existing governmental bodies. An organizational scramble took place in most, if not all, industrialized countries. Each ministry was quick to justify its own jurisdiction, trying for the biggest piece of the pie and also for the leadership role. Intense power struggles ensued. In many countries responsibilities were divided along traditional lines with an interministerial group or one ministry acting as coordinator; but as a result effective cooperation and coordination among the various departments became the key issue. Although most countries by now have the delegation of duties mapped out carefully on organizational charts, in actual practice much confusion, overlap of responsibilities and rivalry remain. Efforts to achieve an integrated approach have further complicated the bureaucratic maze and lead to an inevitable expansion of the bureaucracy.

Second, environmental considerations have complicated policy formation procedures. Before the introduction of environmental parameters, governments generally responded to immediate problems without considering other implications; policymakers were not so concerned with multiple interactions and connections. The recognition

that all aspects, not just the primary impacts, must be reviewed before making a decision is a result of environmental awareness.

Thirdly, the context within which society can make choices about its social and economic development is now and forever restricted. All decisions must be made in light of long-run use of limited global resources.

All these considerations complicate the decision making process and necessitate fundamental innovations. The types of discussions and actions undertaken concerning environmental issues are threatening. Even pollution control means a massive shift of resources and a shake-up of traditional interests. Such types of changes in the planning process have already caused major shifts in power and uncomfortable situations.⁴²

A different issue which effects the nature of cooperation is the distribution of work between common and international problems. (1) Common problems are those which are the same in several countries but where solutions are local. There are two categories. In the first, the nature of the solutions is so dominated by local conditions that they are not worth looking at internationally. In the second, conditions are such that solutions are partially transferable. International action is justified, because through the exchange and comparison, countries can learn from each other. The amount of resources needed to carry out studies and research also makes international cooperation beneficial and necessary. Some of the most typical common problems are waste disposal and some aspects of air and water pollution such as eutrophication. Others are related to land use and urbanization, i.e., housing, overcrowding, sewage, recreation, and transportation. (2) International problems effect two or more countries. There are no independent solutions; there must be agreement among countries. In some cases agreement can be reached informally; in other cases it must be institutional. International problems include the economic consequences of environmental management and pollution control, i.e., the effects on trading and investment patterns, non-tariff trade barriers arising from product standards, and the effect

on the utilization and conservation of natural resources and raw materials; control of toxic chemicals; transfrontier pollution; and the development of common methodologies, measurement techniques, criteria, and standards. Understood as such there are very few environmental problems which are not international or do not have international implications. As a consequence, the demands on intergovernmental organizations are significant.

Almost all the work of the European Communities is devoted to the latter, whereas within the ECE, CMEA, OECD, and Council of Europe a significant amount of work (probably about half) is devoted to common problems. This is, of course, understandable and legitimate given the number and urgency of common problems and the usefulness of, and necessity for, international cooperation in attempting to find solutions for them. The eagerness to cooperate on common problems is also linked to the fact that countries, and especially their national experts, see IGOs as an extension of national problem solving.

There are some additional very specific reasons for the lack of ability to deal more extensively with transfrontier water pollution. Each specific situation in relation to water pollution, involves up to eight countries,⁴³ none of which want gratuitous advice or interference from non-riparian states.⁴⁴ In such a case, a specialized international organization, even if it is not effective, may preclude action by others. On the other hand, there are certain bilateral and multilateral arrangements between the interested parties that are effective in dealing with the situation. In addition, the problems are very complex, there is no body of applicable international law, and the spirit and practice of sovereignty prevails. During interviews with participants to the third session of the ECE Senior Advisers, seventy percent stated that governments were not ready or willing to discuss these questions, that there were specialized organs to deal with them, and that governments preferred to work with only the other concerned states.

F. Other Factors

Another element influencing the role of the various organizations is precisely the fact that there are many organizations with overlapping memberships. States must decide within which organization they wish to cooperate and on what. For instance, despite the fact that the Council of Europe was the first to develop a structure and elicit public awareness on environmental problems, the development of environmental programs in other organizations not only interfered with the intention to expand the Council's functions in this field, but led them to restrict their work to one specific area.

Due to the broad heterogeneous membership of ECE and its dependence upon the larger political situation, members often prefer to cooperate in the more homogeneous subregional organizations. The extent of the cooperation within the ECE will thus depend not only on the readiness of both sides to pursue meaningful collaboration on precise projects, but also on the willingness of the East, and especially the West, to undertake activities which might be more easily handled in sub-regional institutions.

There are two final factors affecting cooperation which must be kept in mind. First are the reasons for which certain problems are brought before intergovernmental organizations. Appearance in the international setting is often a sign that problems could not be solved nationally. Common action may be necessary given the nature of the problem or the resources involved in finding a solution. But one must also be aware of the fact that problems are often brought to international organizations, not necessarily for the above reasons, but in order to escape or to put off national solutions. Concerning problems that involve a limited number of States, it is necessary to ask if bilateral or multilateral attempts, involving the concerned States only, have been made. If not, taking the problem to a larger organization can be an attempt to submerge the problem. Secondly, few national contributions are generated for international

purposes. Most of this part of the work is something that governments are already working on, although work may be speeded up if there is an international commitment to do so.

Although the above discussion concentrates on the reasons for the inability to carry out certain tasks, it should not be interpreted as an unfavorable balance sheet for the work of the organizations. Despite the fact that original expectations were too ambitious, some problems were not correctly diagnosed, and impediments to the types of actions proposed were not foreseen, a good deal has been accomplished. Even though it is not possible to quantify the effect of intergovernmental cooperation, it can certainly be stated that the process of working together and understanding what is being done in other countries has encouraged and aided action. Governments have acquired the confidence that something can be done and that others are acting to solve the same problems ensuring that imbalances will not appear in other areas. Intergovernmental cooperation has helped member governments solve certain technical problems, and resulted in the harmonization of national policies in some areas.

FOOTNOTES

1. For the first time, monographs on environmental problems were prepared by nearly all ECE countries along agreed lines. In describing the problems, a new approach was tried. The countries were asked to describe the problems by geographical areas and economic sectors rather than by kinds of pollution. Some of the problem sectors included industrial production, agriculture and forestry, the service sector, transportation, and energy production. The problem areas typically used were urban areas, industrial concentrations, rural areas, and recreation and conservation areas. The countries were next asked to describe environmental measures and types of environmental action. This included a discussion of (a) legislation; (b) organizational and institutional arrangements and procedures and operational measures at different governmental levels; (c) environmental research, diffusion of knowledge, training in environmental disciplines, public education, information, and participation; and (d) financial, fiscal and pricing policies and analyses. "Review of Country Monographs on Problems Relating to Environment," ECE document, ENV/CONF./C.4, 5 January 1971.

2. Fournier, F., Soil Conservation, Strasbourg Council of Europe 1972, p. 194.

3. In relation to the natural environment, ten studies, two surveys and work on terminology were completed between 1970 and 1975.

4. "Report of the Water Management Sector Group on Eutrophication Control," OECD document for general distribution, Environment Directorate, 1974.

5. "Pollution by the Pulp and Paper Industry," OECD document for general distribution, Environment Directorate, 1973.

6. Resolution (73) 4, "Regulations for the European Diploma," adopted by the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe on 19 January 1973, Article 1.

7. The Diploma is awarded for five years, after which time it can be extended for another five years, if a new on-the-spot appraisal is positive (ibid.). Responsible authorities must submit an annual report on the area (ibid., Article 5). In the case of notification of a serious threat or deterioration of the area, an expert may assess the situation. If the danger proves real and appropriate measures are not taken to remedy it, the European Committee can recommend to the Committee of Ministers that the Diploma be withdrawn (ibid., Article 6). Between 1964 and 1974 there were over thirty candidates and only thirteen were awarded the Diploma. A booklet on the ten years of the European Diploma is under preparation.

8. During the period 1962 to 1975, the work of the European Committee resulted in nineteen resolutions including three charters -- eight relating to nature conservation, five to air pollution, three to water, and three to information and education.

9. This is the case, for example, of the Council of Europe's Water Charter which is referred to in certain national legislation.

10. "Local Authorities and Natural and Man-made Environment Problems in Europe," European Conference of Local Authorities, 10th Session (16-21 September 1974), Council of Europe document CPL(10)2, p. 27.

11. ECE Resolution 10(XXL), "The ECE Declaration of Policy on Water Pollution Control," April 1969, in Compendium of Resolutions . . . pp. 162-166.

12. "Report of the Sixth Session of the Committee on Water Problems," ECE document, ECE/Water/10, 31 October 1974, p. 2, para. 10. See also "Progress made in Applying Resolution 10(XXI), the ECE Declaration of Policy on Water Pollution Control and the Committee's Recommendation," ECE document, Water/R.3/Rev. 1, 12 July 1974.

13. Ibid.

14. By 1975, information was received relating to action taken by fifteen member countries on biodegradability. A format for reporting was established, 1974 reports submitted and a consolidated report prepared on PCBs and Mercury. Reports have also been submitted on pollution from fuel combustion.

15. "Programme of action of the European Communities on the Environment," p. 2.

16. At the 26th session of the Commission in April 1971, the political confrontation over the participation of the German Democratic Republic at the Prague Conference came to a head and in fact nearly caused the conference to be cancelled. There are obviously two interpretations to the conflict. The Western countries saw it as an attempt by the Eastern European countries to use environment as a means to force a breakthrough on the German Democratic Republic's participation in United Nations bodies. The Eastern European countries pointed to the obvious physical fact that any discussion of environmental cooperation in Europe without the GDR would be unrealistic. A compromise was reached in extremis. By renaming and restructuring the "Conference" to a "Symposium" with the "sole purpose of providing an opportunity for an exchange of views on selected problems in this field," a mechanism was found whereby East Germany could participate actively at the Symposium as an observer. The agenda was reduced to exclude agreement or discussion of ECE work programs (ECE Decision (XXVI), p. 247). The meeting was changed from public to private. The level of participation was consequently cut, which meant at this late date the scratching of ministerial level delegates. The participation of the GDR remained, however, a prerequisite for the participation of the Eastern European countries in the Senior Advisers. As such a question could not be resolved in this context, the convening of the first meeting had to wait until the issues were resolved elsewhere. In the fall of 1972, the GDR became a full member in the UN bodies and Specialized Agencies. The Senior Advisers were subsequently convened and met in April 1973.

17. The delegations of the USSR, GDR, and Poland joined Czechoslovakia in declaring that they consider the establishment of this Agency in West Berlin illegal and contrary to the quadripartite agreements of 3 September 1971 on West Berlin. They therefore do not recognize the Agency or its representatives, refuse to establish any contacts, insist on the deletion of their names from the list of participants, and oppose any reference to the Agency in Commission documents. The Federal Republic of Germany, supported by the delegations of the United Kingdom, the U.S., and France, asserted that the establishment of the Agency in West Berlin was in accordance with the Agreement and "consequently there is no justification for the assertion that representatives of the Agency cannot participate in international exchanges." ("Report of the Fifth Session of the Working Party on Air Pollution Problems," ECE document, ENV/WP.1/4, 30 January 1975, p. 7, para. 46.

18. "First Communication of the Commission about the Community's Policy on the Environment."

19. Ibid., p. 11.

20. Europe, daily bulletin of the European Economic Communities, No. 971, 26 January 1972, pp. 7-9.

21. "Communication from the Commission to the Council on a European Communities' Programme Concerning the Environment," document of the Commission of the European Communities, SEC(72)666, 22 March 1972.

22. Ibid., p. 11.

23. Bulletin of the European Communities, No. 10, October 1972.

24. "Programme of Action of the European Communities on the Environment," p. 1.

25. According to functionalist theory, technical and "non controversial" problems can be isolated from political problems. Once isolated, functionalists assert that solutions will be pursued without impediments by experts who see it in their

interest to do so. This idea is based upon the belief that politics and politicians are by their very nature "imbued with the pursuit of power" and irrational behavior. On the contrary, experts invariably work selflessly for the common good. Technical management is equated with a "mature mind and a healthy society." (Haas, Ernest B., Beyond the Nation State: Functionalism and International Organizations, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1964, p. 9.

26. With the exception of the Decisions of the OECD which bind member Governments with nearly the same force as a treaty.

27. Council Resolution of 15 July 1975 on the "Adaption to Technical Progress of Directives or Other Community Rules on the Protection and Improvement of the Environment," Official Journal of the European Communities, Vol. 18, No. C 168, 25 July 1975, p. 5.

28. Simai, Mihaly, "Cooperation in the CMEA," Budapest, Institute for World Economics of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, p. 15, to be published.

29. Ibid., pp. 13 and 22.

30. For a detailed examination of the working methods of the organizations see Appendix 1.

31. Sixty percent of the participants interviewed for this study at the Third Session of the ECE Senior Advisers stated that the instructions from governments on the content of the work were not always clear.

32. The procedure, as set out in the Resolution concerning a Procedure for Notification and Consultation on Measures for Control of Substances Affecting Man or His Environment is as follows: "When legislation is filed, or administrative action made public, or new scientific data show that protective measures should be taken, or at any earlier time the country concerned shall notify the Secretariat of contemplated action and technical and scientific justification. The Secretariat shall make this information available to all Members and

relate all reactions to the notifying member. Any member may request a consultation which shall be arranged by the Secretariat General and chaired by a member of the OECD Secretariat. A summary report shall be transmitted to member countries, the Environment Committee, and to the Council if necessary, for appropriate action." ("Resolution of the OECD Council on 18th May 1971, Concerning a Procedure for Notification and Consultation on Measures for Control of Substances Affecting Man or His Environment," OECD document C(71)73 (Final), Annex, para. 4).

33. Two important examples are the identification of photochemical smog in Tokyo and Melbourne and effect of freon on the ozone layer.

34. "Status of the Action Programme of the European Communities on the Environment as of 1 January 1976," p. 12.

35. Industry and Society, No. 27, 9 July 1974, p. 14.

36. The budget for the European Information Center for 1975 was 217,000 FF. This sum was essentially for the financing of the periodical Naturopa, the monthly newsletter, the purchase of documentary material, and the publicity campaign.

37. Skolnikoff states that "those organizations able to operate most effectively (as measured largely in terms of efficiency in carrying out specific tasks), normally satisfy several or all of the following conditions:

- (a) specialized in nature;
- (b) technical subject matter;
- (c) clearly-defined and agreed mission and boundaries;
- (d) members are limited to those with direct interest;
- (e) dominated by one or a small number of countries that are in substantial agreement, with an organizational structure that reflects domination;
- (f) reliance is placed on small secretariat and correspondingly, on national experts;

- (g) subject matter is of only moderate political or economic interest; and
- (h) little public attention is paid to the organization or its subject matter."

Skolnikoff, p. 162.

38. Skolnikoff himself points out that "in most cases the conditions are directly contrary to what is happening to the issues," (p. 162).

39. Siotis, Jean, "The Secretariat of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe and European Economic Integration: the First Ten Years," International Organization, Vol. XIX, pp. 188-190.

40. Ibid.

41. Secretariat "leaders can propose solutions when no country is able or willing to do so, help galvanize support in individual countries, and implement decisions when everyone else goes on to the next issue. The willingness of governments to entrust responsibility to an international institution often depends, quite rightly, on the competence of those who staff it," Bersten, C. Fred, "Interdependence and the Reform of International Institutions," International Organization, Vol. 30, No. 2, Spring 1976.

42. Environmental impact statements in the United States actually challenged the heretofore unquestioned power and authority of the Army Corps of Engineers and the military.

43. E.g., the Baltic Sea, the Danube River, the Rhine River, the Black Sea (not the Mediterranean which goes beyond the European context and is coordinated by UNEP).

44. An exception is the case of Turkey which favors ECE participation in relation to the Black Sea for political reasons.

CHAPTER SEVEN

PERSPECTIVES AND CONCLUSIONS

This study concludes by setting out some necessary conditions for effective and meaningful cooperation and by examining appropriate functions, goals and approaches for IGOs working on environmental problems.

I. Necessary Conditions

There are various factors which have affected and will continue to affect cooperation on environmental problems. The dominating factor for the ECE has been the "progressive reduction of political tension which has helped to bring about a parallel acceleration and widening of economic cooperation."¹ The nature of rivalries have changed. They are no longer primarily military, but technical and economic. It is more efficient to share technical knowledge upon which there is no embargo. The Executive Secretary gives several assumptions upon which future East-West cooperation must be based. First, the Europe of the future will be a Europe not of convergence or integration but a Europe of collaboration. Secondly, there will not be open but selective cooperation. Third, we can assume good will.²

If it is possible to achieve meaningful results in an area such as trade (over the past thirty years the ECE has played a key role in removing obstacles to trade) where countries have traditionally

preferred to find bilateral solutions, then there should be even greater opportunities to find solutions to environmental problems, where countries have from the very beginning realized the necessity for multilateral solutions. But admittedly cooperation is often slow and cumbersome on the regional basis. Recognizing this, future cooperation will also depend upon the willingness of Western countries to undertake projects in the ECE which could be handled more quickly in their subregional organizations and the willingness of Eastern countries to make substantive contributions. The convening on the High Level Meeting on Environment incites optimism about future cooperation. The importance of the HLM transcends environmental considerations. It is a major step in the implementation of the Final Act of Helsinki and realization of détente. Environment has been used to contribute to political change.

One of the most serious obstacles within the Council of Europe is the discrepancy between the goals of the organization and the lack of effective decision-making powers. The Council of Europe has been and will continue to be greatly affected by the role of other organizations. Potential cooperation in the Council will be partly pre-empted by the European Communities because it has more resources and more effective decision-making powers, and by the ECE because certain issues are more logically tackled on a regional basis.

The predisposition of Western industrialized countries to cooperate in the OECD will continue due to its homogeneous membership and the fact that it is a relatively well-run organization which can undertake and complete projects in a reasonably short period of time. Where more binding solutions are desired, cooperation will naturally be pursued within the European Communities where it will continue to be facilitated by extensive resources and a limited membership.

While there has been enthusiasm for environmental cooperation in CMEA, some of the traditional obstacles to cooperation still prevail. The decision-making process is particularly slow and cumbersome due to the strict application of the principle of sovereign

equality in organizational, procedural and substantive decisions. The unwillingness and inability to apply some decisions means that much agreed upon action remains at the "theoretical" level. Even more serious, some basic economic mechanisms necessary for cooperation are lacking. These include currency convertibility and realistic exchange rates and price calculations.

There are a number of necessary conditions for effective cooperation on environmental problems which relate to all the organizations. At the national level, the awareness of public authorities of the severity of the problems and their dedication to doing something about them is a prerequisite for effective action in international organizations. The ability of governments to cooperate effectively will partially be determined by their ability to restructure their national environmental machinery and to coordinate domestic environmental policies. Governments must also know and state clearly what they want. There must be a precise definition of activities and their intended results.

Secondly, member governments must desire international cooperation and be ready and willing to furnish the necessary resources, including qualified expertise, in order to effect it. The amount of work that can be undertaken is limited by the resources available to the organizations and by the absorption capacity of member countries. For every project, countries must furnish corresponding inputs in the form of people and information and must implement decisions taken. The resources to do this are not freely available. Nevertheless more involvement on the part of governments is needed. Equally important, the quality of the cooperation depends to a large degree upon the level of national inputs and the competence and qualifications of national delegations to meetings.

On this matter C. Fred Bergsten makes the following pertinent remarks, "effective mobilization of international institutions requires stronger support for them within national governments. Few governments are in fact organized effectively to backstop the international organizations of which they are members; most often there is a wide gap between the people

responsible for relations with the institutions and those responsible for the substance of the issues. The same government officials who are responsible for national decisions must participate directly in the international institutional process if that process is to succeed."³ A change in governmental policies and attitudes is one of the most important conditions for effective cooperation.

The secretariats must be more effective in responding to the needs of governments and particularly in involving governments in implementing and doing the work. Their managerial skills must be more refined. Often the necessary contacts between secretariats and governments are inadequate, infrequent, and subject to change of representation. If both parties are to perform their respective tasks effectively, these contacts must be improved. So that multisectoral activities can be performed, more effective methods for involving other committees must be worked out.

More public participation and more secretariat contacts with nongovernmental groups are needed. Secretariats are often too busy to look beyond the implementation of the current program of work. They suffer from the same bureaucratic problem of national administrations: inability to transcend daily concerns. More creative and challenging elements are needed. In addition, governments must be willing for secretariats to take initiatives and must themselves make a conscious effort to discuss controversial issues and their implications.

Better means must be devised for cooperation with industry. Relations to date have been sporadic, essentially through governments, and largely unsuccessful in reaching any degree of understanding on the part of industry of the role of international organizations. The dialogue has essentially aimed at convincing industry that the activities of the intergovernmental organizations are not intended to hurt them.

The efficient functioning of each organization is a necessary but not sufficient condition for satisfactory international cooperation in environmental problems. Rational programming and efficient

utilization of resources must be achieved not only within, but among, organizations. Bilateral and multi-lateral cooperative arrangements between and among organizations have succeeded only in avoiding unnecessary overlap and duplication among the organizations under study. But there is not an optimal distribution of resources. To achieve an effective division of work, the mechanisms for cooperation and coordination among organizations must be developed and improved. As outlined in Chapter Five, a complete and accessible information system of the environmental activities of all-European intergovernmental organizations available to both secretariats and governments could be useful if it were designed for the purpose of preprogramming coordination. Coordination at the initial planning stage is indispensable. Going one step further, a more coherent planning of the development of intergovernmental environment programs is required. The goal should be to give a sense of direction to the sum of the programs.

The framework exists in the intersecretariat meetings to pursue this coordination, but the secretariats must actively use it if they are to achieve any concrete results. Although there seems to be no opposition to such meetings, the commitment to actually coordinate at the planning stage has not been manifest. If such proves to be the case, these reunions would prove to be another "useful," but as far as real needs are concerned, marginal exercise.

II. Appropriate Functions and Goals of IGOs

A. Implications of environmental problems for IGOs

What conclusions can be drawn about the appropriate functions and goals for IGOs working on environmental problems? The answer involves an investigation of several fundamental questions. What are the implications of environmental problems for intergovernmental organizations? Are new constraints imposed on the independence of national action? What is the proper jurisdictional balance

between intergovernmental organizations and nation States? What is the appropriate level of action and division of responsibilities? One point of view, especially popular in the early 70's, insists that domestic jurisdiction must contract and international jurisdiction must expand. In his study on the implications of technology for the future development of international organizations, Eugene Skolnikoff concluded that problems related to technology (environment being one of them) "in the relatively near future are going to generate important new demands on the international system and are going to create new constraints on the independence of a national action, to a degree little appreciated at present."⁴ He goes on to say that existing international mechanisms and governmental attitudes towards them will have to undergo a substantial and rapid evolution in order to meet imminent problems.

That problems are shared or that they cannot be dealt with in isolation or by smaller political units should not infer that the decision-making powers must necessarily be transferred to this larger context and that the lesser units should or must inevitably lose importance. To draw such conclusions in relation to environmental problems is to ignore some of the basic elements of the situation. This is true at the local-national and national-international levels.

In the first place, nearly, if not all, the causes and many of the consequences of environmental dysfunctions are to be found within national borders. There are many international repercussions but it is "domestic default" which produces the external effects.⁵ In fact, "the current global welfare crisis might better be understood as a collection of unmanaged or poorly managed national welfare crisis."⁶

The feasibility of achieving solutions at the international level is also conditioned by the fact that the responsibility for solving problems should not and cannot be divorced from the source and producer of the problem. The further the decision-making power from the problem, the greater the possibility of irresponsibility, mismanagement, corruption, misinterpretation of problems, poor allocation of resources, and bureaucracy. To separate

responsibility and cause is to encourage the perpetuation of a problem because the need for a solution must be directly felt at the place where it is created.

The above remarks are not meant to reduce the importance of international cooperation, but to try to give a realistic perspective to the limits of cooperation in this context. The fact is that solutions cannot be found to many environmental problems without action on both the national and international level. It is not a question of choosing between domestic and interstate strategies, but of identifying and pursuing the appropriate tasks at each level.

The mechanisms, methods, means and managerial resources for corrective action are to be found within States. It is at the domestic level where the responsibility for remedial action and managerial efforts lie. Failure to act will of course continue to produce external repercussions, but regardless of the extent of the effects, the burden for implementing the appropriate control strategies will still rest at the national level. Domestic policies can serve as a basis for, and in fact are a precondition of, cooperative measures. Intergovernmental cooperation becomes meaningful when the interested States are willing and capable of carrying out policies to implement the agreed upon action.

The possibility of new constraints imposed on the autonomy of national action should not be over emphasized. The main constraint facing governments is the necessity for national action. The essential authority and power to act will continue to remain in national hands. There are indeed more problems which will have to involve cooperation with other States and thus the increased need for willingness to find common solutions and to make mutual adjustments. But given the necessity for national action and the extent of domestic effects of environmental dysfunctions, the international dimension should not be viewed as demanding important sacrifices that are not, at least partially, and often substantially, compensated by benefits within a country's own borders.

What role is appropriate for intergovernmental organizations? Interstate action can supplement but

not substitute for domestic policies and leadership. There are some very important tasks, however, which must be performed at the international level. Intergovernmental bodies provide forums for national policymakers and experts to appreciate what is being done in other countries. This information not only helps them to find solutions to their own problems but also helps them acquire confidence to pursue remedial action. Intergovernmental organizations can help sensitize national policy leaders to the externalities of their national actions and help stimulate an awareness of and concern for international environmental problems. They can be used by governments to agree on policy direction and to make mutual policy adjustments. Although it is generally not reasonable or necessary to achieve similar action, international cooperation can provide a framework of guidelines and obligations which help harmonize national approaches and moderate economic disturbances.

B. Scale of Tasks: Actual, Potential and Appropriate Roles

Our next task is to attempt to identify the capacities of each organization in terms of the scale of tasks and discuss the types of activities or tasks which can and should be undertaken by the respective regional and sub-regional organizations.

1. Task One

It is not surprising that the major part of the work of the OECD, ECE and Council of Europe involves Task One activities, as the exchange of information is one of the fundamental functions of international organizations. The increased need for exchange of experience and information on current environmental problems and the importance of general coordination of policies will only serve to augment the demand for this type of activity.

There are, however, two difficulties. First, efforts often remain on a very general level, not going much beyond a review of the problem, and second,

this task can in fact command most of the resources of the secretariats. For these reasons, selectivity is essential. The first difficulty is gradually being overcome through the evolution of the problem-solving process. As the issues are defined and the factual situations established, discussions and studies are naturally becoming much more concerned with strategies and policy assessment. This process is reinforced by the fact that there are fewer national officials who need educating and more who are able to make contributions based on concrete experience. Participants to international meetings are no longer satisfied with general discussions and are demanding more structured and well-defined cooperation.

More knowledgeable delegations help to solve a related problem, which is to make the exchange and analysis of information more meaningful and of more direct benefit to experts and administrators looking for solutions. In order to achieve this, more emphasis should be placed on practical experience in relation to issues including the evaluation of the methods, instruments, and organizational arrangements to achieve various policy objectives. Discussions should center around an objective presentation by governmental representatives of specific case studies in the implementation of policies, in administrative procedures, and in the application of various techniques. Special emphasis should be given to elucidating mistakes, and problems. The goal should be a true critical analysis. Often countries are only willing to present their virtues, which result in exchanges that are not very interesting or worthwhile. The method suggested above would assure that exchanges take place between governments and not between the secretariat or outside experts and governments.

Referring to the second difficulty, Task One activities should be directed towards the solution of problems involving policy reviews and assessments whenever possible, or they should be undertaken to prepare for the elaboration of other tasks. In particular, a greater percentage of resources should be devoted to the development of common policy approaches and methodologies and to the elaboration of criteria, guidelines, and standards.

A specific proposal for the Council of Europe is to orient their studies more towards the implementation of specific policy priorities and objectives. A recommendation which has been made during the discussions of the Council's Medium Term Plan and its relation to IUCN's World Conservation Strategy (WCS) is to prepare model examples of national conservation strategies which would promote the preparation of such strategies in member countries. The model strategies would contain guidelines for the implementation of the WCS and how to incorporate them into the planning and management process of countries. This work could be supported by an examination of special conservation problems and the preparation of comparative studies of ways in which countries have integrated conservation requirements into law, institutions and development plans. The Council emphasizes its role in the preparation of policy instruments. Yet member States look to it more for technical guidance on practical problems rather than as a forum for political resolution. A reorientation of its work along practical policy oriented lines could help it achieve the same harmonization objectives using the methods that it is best suited to perform.

The collection of information on the state of the environment is moving in a useful policy-oriented direction. The European Communities have prepared two reports which contain information on past, present and future work in the Communities and trends about action in member countries. The third will evaluate the implementation of Community legislation. The OECD has prepared its first report which assesses changes in the state of the environment in member countries over the past decade. The report identifies trends, successes and remaining problems. Within the Council of Europe, a "Directory of European Conservation" is proposed which would include facts about the Council's activities and information and comparable data on the conservation status in member countries, which could be based on a check-list of fundamental requirements for conservation as set out in the IUCN WCS. CMEA should develop similar reports for the Eastern European Region. The ECE could synthesize the reports for the whole European Region which could be integrated into research on environmental trends (See Task Two). In addition

to assessments of changes in the environment, legislation and policies, future reports must include identification of gaps, and ideas for direction of future planning. As such they could be valuable inputs to UNEP's state of the environment reports.

2. Task Two

As internationally accepted criteria, guidelines, standards, methodologies, measurement techniques, and standardization of data and methods are an essential basis for further international cooperation, it is important that they be developed in such a way as to facilitate international acceptance. This is initially a problem between member States, but to avoid unnecessary duplication in the future, it should be done in a way that is scientifically acceptable and if possible easily adaptable to nonmember States, with whom cooperation might be sought at a later stage. Consideration must be given, therefore, to the context in which this work is elaborated. Technical competence and wide-spread recognition of this competence are important, not only for basic research but also for the technical aspects of these activities which are often done by secretariat members, consultants and government experts. It would be advisable to investigate the possibility of assigning such projects to, or getting the collaboration of, recognized scientific experts or institutions. Without such an arrangement work may not be accepted by non-members because, rightly or wrongly, it is assumed that the results reflect the bias of the organization.

It is not feasible or necessary that basic research and analysis be conducted in international laboratories. The European Communities is the only institution with its own research center, although only a modest percentage of its own research program is done there. It is also the only institution which can influence the direction of research through financial assistance, research programs, and permanent international machinery (the General Directorate of Research, Science and Education) explicitly established for coordination and cooperation. While the international organizations are not suited or equipped

to take on most scientific research, they can provide the international mechanism for the exchange of information, planning, and coordination. And it is very important that they do so, not only to assure the compatibility of methods developed, but also to provide the means by which resources can be shared.

As far as the division of research and management functions between organizations is concerned, the CMEA, which works almost exclusively in this area, should continue to perform these functions for the Eastern European countries. On the contrary, this is not an appropriate task for the Council of Europe. The OECD, which has very few, but nevertheless very effective, cooperative projects could continue this cooperation in selected areas. However, as far as basic and applied research among Western European countries is concerned, an extension of the COST experience among the nine Common Market countries and ten non-member countries, with an open-ended agreement permitting other interested countries to participate, could be expanded. (See p. 125) The ECE could coordinate environmental research between Eastern and Western European countries.

The ECE can perform a special role in carrying out independent objective research on environmental trends and long-term analysis of environmental problems in the European region. This research should aim at providing a factual and imaginative context of continuity for national and international policy-making and a foundation for facilitating the harmonization and synchronization of national policies. The ECE has a very successful history in independent research in relation to the general economic situation in Europe and to foreign trade.⁷ If member governments are willing to give the Secretariat the mandate and commensurate funds, similar work could be done on the European environmental situation.

The Senior Advisers are cooperating with the Senior Economic Advisers on Overall Economic Perspectives for the ECE Region up to 1990. But the goal of this work is too restricted.⁸ The research could be complemented by statistical bulletins establishing a factual basis for national and collective decisions. This must, however, be preceded by the development of comparable methods for

elaborating and assembling statistical information on environmental problems. Work is being carried out in this area. Collaboration could result in more comparable state of the environment reports of all the organizations.

3. Task Three

The establishment and functioning of the various types of information and data collection systems, are tasks which must logically be performed or at least managed by intergovernmental organizations, because of the inherent international nature of the information and the exchange and also because of the resources required. The problem of division of work naturally arises. Systems designed by one organization should be highly selective to serve very specific purposes, and should be compatible with and complementary to other systems. For more general needs, joint efforts should be made to create a common system to serve the purposes of the whole region. The secretariats of the intergovernmental organizations under study have rightly felt that the development of information and data collection systems should be worked out in cooperation with UNEP. Where regional action has been undertaken, the Inventory of Sources of Information on the Environment of the European Communities, it has been designed to be an input to the UNEP International Referral System.

The Council of Europe is the only European organization with the machinery and general mandate for an information center whose efforts, including information campaigns, are directed towards the general public. This type of activity should be concentrated and strengthened within the Council. If these activities are to have a relevant impact, they must promote a more comprehensive development-oriented approach to conservation. (See p. 333) They must also be coordinated with other Council bodies. Efforts must be made to identify and promote more participation and grassroots forms of public education.

Notification systems are also a logical task for intergovernmental organizations. Because they are sometimes designed to serve different purposes, they

can be set up by more than one organization. However, efforts should be made to make them complementary in case the information could be profitably used in a wider context.

4. Tasks Four and Five

The conclusion of informal and formal agreements to coordinate policy is a natural and important task for intergovernmental organizations. There are many aspects of environmental problems which cannot be solved without the accord of other States, in which case institutional agreement to follow a certain policy or line of action is necessary. National policies may be quite different because of different national values, priorities and conditions, but by the process of informal and formal coordination and harmonization of policy, countries attempt to develop complementary policies and to avoid those that conflict. Even where these acts reflect already established practices in member countries and where their immediate application may not be evident, they may serve to establish a basic understanding for policy direction.

The value of the efforts devoted to drawing up and securing agreement of informal international instruments can, however, be questioned where there is a lack of willingness or sincerity on the part of member governments to carry through with what they have agreed upon, or similarly where recommendations have only a ritualistic value, being adopted at the end of conferences in an attempt to show that something has been accomplished. Sometimes, through the political process to reach agreement, the recommendations become so watered down and even incoherent and simplistic that the question can be rightfully asked if it would not be more efficient to let experts find an understanding between themselves without adding the political element. In some cases the answer is yes. However, recommendations can be useful if they are substantial and specific enough to be used as a guide for government authorities in policy-making. They must be made at the appropriate stage in the work and be designed to create obligations. The number should be limited so that

their importance is not reduced by the quantity. Taking care to concentrate on effective, precise informal cooperation which will be taken seriously by member countries, all organizations should continue to elaborate these agreements.

At the same time, other methods of coordination of policy should be pursued. For example coordination through information exchange procedures and net-working as in the chemical program of the OECD. (See p. 83) Such procedures could be adopted in other organizations and expanded in the OECD in other areas. The development of model laws, and strategies could be explored in some areas, as was suggested above for the implementation of the World Conservation Strategy. Model strategies could also be worked out for impact assessments of industrialized countries actions and policies on third world countries.

Work should be continued in all organizations to harmonize policies on transfrontier pollution and shared natural resources. OECD has drawn up, elaborated and promoted guidelines to moderate or prevent conflicts as a result of transfrontier pollution. These principles should now be applied to concrete problems, especially shared water and air basins. The ECE should do similar work for the whole region. Transfrontier pollution is one example where ECE could and should expand on work of subregional organizations. Taking completed work as a basis for further discussion would help avoid duplication of the initial phases of activities and give some very substantive and concrete issues upon which to base discussions. The Council of Europe should adapt and apply the OECD principles to protected areas that cross several jurisdictions.

Although more difficult to obtain, formal policy coordination is an extremely important task which can be accomplished only by intergovernmental cooperation. Organizations capable of operating at this level should organize their work at lower levels with the aim of preparing or facilitating this cooperation when possible and necessary. This should be, and is, the main direction of the European Communities environment program, which has unique formal powers. The ECE, OECD, and Council of Europe should make more use of their capacities for formal cooperation on appropriate problems.

The ECE has made important progress in confronting, cooperating on, and even working towards, formal agreement on sensitive international issues. The most important case, of course, is the draft convention on long-range transboundary air pollution. This success should be drawn upon to actively pursue the possibility of other meetings and agreements. Energy is already being considered. In the ECE, the work of the Inland Transport Committee should also be expanded to include other types of pollutants and vehicles. Environmental interests should be represented to assure that this aspect of the problems is given due consideration. The possibilities of obtaining agreements on standards and norms for other polluting products should be pursued.

5. Task Six

Providing the coordination machinery or the operational management and technical assistance for common action is an important function for those organizations which have the competence and the financial resources for such projects. This is the case only for the European Communities. The fact is that action to preserve and improve the environment is expensive, and the only way to ensure that certain action is taken is to provide substantial financial assistance. This assistance can therefore be extremely important in making it possible for the European countries to carry out common environmental action.

6. Task Seven

The European Communities is the only institution which has the competence to develop monitoring and enforcement procedures. As a general rule, inter-governmental organizations do not have the legal means to enforce agreements. As Gordon MacDonald points out, "In environment, as in other areas, enforcement of regulatory measures will have to remain the responsibility of states. In the present stage of development of international institutions it would be unrealistic to assume that these could take on and

enforce internationally agreed upon standards or procedures. Rather, international organizations should encourage states to take the required legislative and enforcement actions."⁹ The present situation could thus be termed "passive . . . in the sense that nations tend to conform to standards on their own volition on the basis of a calculation of their own best interests."¹⁰ Whether there will be the need or desire in the future for a more active cooperation on monitoring, inspection systems and sanction procedures will depend on the political situation, the willingness of States to voluntarily abide by international agreements, and the competitive nature and deleterious international effects of specific problems. One further international task which has not been discussed is the settlement of disputes. Obviously, governmental organizations in their present form are not prepared to perform such a task, although the Court of Justice of the European Communities could eventually evolve to take on such responsibilities for standard setting, enforcement, and monitoring.

7. Conclusions

Summing up, the challenge is not to give IGOs more powers or increase their functions, but to increase the willingness and ability of countries to pursue meaningful cooperation. National attitudes must change in the sense of being ready to take on the responsibility for and making the sacrifices necessary to solve environmental problems. Once this is done at the national level and countries are equipped to carry out substantial environmental programs at home, the basis for cooperative policies will exist. In the meantime, intergovernmental bodies must continue to help countries establish an adequate foundation for action so that common action on problems of environmental interdependence can be meaningfully pursued.

IGOs cannot be used as a crutch or an excuse. The perception of intergovernmental organizations as "they" must be changed. Participation even at the international level implies responsibility. Any international action must be carried out "by" countries and not "for" them. This kind of attitude should

engender a more mature attitude towards secretariats and the role of governments.

Proper jurisdictional balance and realistic functions are absolutely necessary, but there is an even more fundamental issue. The vision of intergovernmental organizations must be broadened. The goals of the cooperative action set out in the mandates and the type of functions actually carried out reflect a belief that solutions to environmental problems can be found by studying and measuring negative effects, by elaborating and assessing policies, and by developing standards, norms and technical innovations. The role of IGOs is to facilitate this process by acting as a forum for information exchange, identifying emerging problems, coordinating research, setting up information systems, and coordinating policy. That these goals and functions are necessary is not disputed. They are, however, not sufficient. To be meaningful they must be complemented by a conceptual critique of the system itself. To what extent have IGOs been able and willing to do so? -- This is the next topic of discussion.

III. Appropriate Approaches

A. Evolution of the Conceptual Frameworks 1970-1979

A fundamental theme of this study is intergovernmental organizations' attitudes toward, responses to, and initiatives taken in relation to change. Within what conceptual framework are the various organizations working and why?

Chapter Two has shown that the organizational arrangements correspond closely to the technical approach. The complexity of the environmental problem complicated the task of reorganization of intergovernmental and secretariat structures to deal more comprehensively with these issues. Although the need to integrate the multidimensional aspects of the problem was recognized, the practicalities of setting up mechanisms to do so was not so easy. The various

responses included widening the scope of individual projects, encouraging multidisciplinary participation within bodies, coordination between projects and groups, creation of mechanisms through which environment committees could interact with and influence the orientation of other bodies, and broadening the scope of the environment division itself. Although some of these arrangements have been more successful than others, it has been difficult to transcend the treatment of environment as an additional sector. The organizational responses have emphasized coordination more than an integration of the issues.

The general orientation of the original mandates of the early environmental programs corresponded to the unidimensional phase of the technical approach. Of overriding concern were the economic implications and trade effects of pollution control policies. The fundamental cause of environmental problems was seen to be the failure of the economic system to incorporate qualitative considerations and social costs. An important aspect of the solution was thus to integrate these qualitative factors into national economic policies. The emphasis in all the organizations on policy planning and management illustrates the importance accorded to reorganizing governmental structures and expanding administrative functions. There was a faith that solutions could be found by pooling resources, sharing information, and developing and coordinating national and international policies.

The evolution of the work programs between 1974 and 1978 reflects a move toward the multidimensional phase of the technical approach. The emphasis became less sectoral and more interdisciplinary. Preventative programs superceded the "clean-up" approach to pollution. More attention was given to energy, to the conservation of natural resources and to the assessment of ecological, social and economic trade-offs. The intergovernmental discussions, however, gave no indication of a move towards a more indepth critique of society along the lines of the structural approach. It was recognized that the problems are more complicated than originally anticipated. But there was still faith that the challenge could be met through modification of the economic system, planning and management, legislative and enforcement powers, assessment, monitoring, and research and development.

The attitude toward technology is an example of how intergovernmental organizations grouping industrialized countries have dealt with the issues. In the organizations under study, the comprehensive treatment of science and technology and environment has been complicated by the committee structures which separate the two areas. There has been no indepth probe in either context into the causal relation between them. Discussions which could have led to treatment of the structural aspects have been avoided. Although technology has been recognized as a cause, it is perceived as a side effect of technological advances which have not yet reached perfection or achieved total efficiency. The solution is to be found in directing the creation of new technologies. Hence, the major concern in intergovernmental committees has been limited to low-waste and non-waste technologies and technological assessment.

Since 1978, the evolution in the work programs of the OECD, ECE and to some extent the EC indicate a move towards the quality of life phase. Major concerns of the third phase are long-term policies of qualitative economic growth, the benefits of environmental management, emphasis on better use and management of resources, and an appreciation of the interaction between environment and economic growth in a broader context of socio-economic development. The third phase is characterized by much less attention to technical problems, an emphasis on policy issues and the harmonization of policies. Member countries have demonstrated an increased willingness in all organizations to pursue concerted action and to reach formal and informal policy agreements. Although the third phase is based on a recognition of the limitations of a strict economic interpretation of development and the need for qualitative and value change, the change in emphasis is more practical than philosophical. Some of the main motivating factors are economic difficulties and the energy crisis. The new emphasis on the economic aspects of environmental policies reflects the realization that is necessary, realistic and tactically the only feasible way for environment to maintain attention during a period of economic crisis. A brief look at the orientation of each organization since 1978 follows.

1. European Communities

There are no actual or proposed policies for the European Communities that confront structural issues. Their preoccupation with the development of community legislation to control and prevent pollution has meant that even their efforts on improving the environment have not moved along as fast as originally anticipated. Like the OECD, the new emphasis is on the beneficial economic implications of environmental policies.

2. Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development

The motivation and emphasis in the current OECD work is economic. The level of analysis and understanding of environmental problems attained over the last decade now permits a more sophisticated look at some of the original questions concerning the effects of environmental policy on prices, production, employment and trade. The new analysis aims at improving the understanding of the relationship between environment and economic issues within a broader and more positive perspective. It also aims at the practical realization of the original objectives. A good example is the new chemical program which aims at harmonizing new regulations in order to avoid negative environmental, trade and economic effects. It is particularly significant because cooperation has been achieved in an IGO on a sensitive issue in the early stages of national policy development.

The only hint at a need for a structural analysis, as defined in this study, came in the speech of the new Director of the Environment Directorate to the Environment Committee in December, 1978. He foresaw a profound shift, which is characterized by the belief that even the policies of the "second environment debate" (anticipatory, preventative and participatory) do not attack the fundamental forces that underlie environmental degradation. These forces enimate from personal beliefs, cultural traditions and society's institutions. These reflections raise questions of environmentally compatible alternative growth patterns and life styles. One obvious area where some of these questions could be raised is in the program on urban concerns. However, the proposed

themes for the urban program are primarily concerned with the fiscal, financial and macroeconomic aspects of urban and regional economic development. In depth analysis of courses and real alternatives within a social perspective are not addressed in this or other parts of the work program. In fact, concern with environmental issues (energy conservation, low-impact urban development) is a relatively small part of the proposed program.

3. Council of Europe

The Council of Europe has made no attempts to go beyond the traditional sectoral approach to the natural environment. Its work retains its emphasis on conservation, protection and resource management. The European Committee has avoided going into regional planning or analyzing the development context upon which the existence of the natural environment is dependent.

4. Economic Commission for Europe

With the important exception of the Seminar on Alternate Patterns of Development and Lifestyle, no direct attempts have been made within the ECE to address causal and conceptual issues of a structural nature. It will be important to observe the results of the seminar. Will it be a one-time event, or will it stimulate further thinking and activities? Until now, ECE has been unable and unwilling to discuss issues relating to the philosophy of economic growth. The more profound analyses from the radical elements of the capitalist world have not penetrated either the governmental or secretariat levels. Both have avoided raising "sensitive" issues. The socialist countries have been very careful to stay within the technical framework. Governmental and intergovernmental circles have hardly been unaware of the radical criticisms of both systems, but they certainly have not overtly accepted the conclusions or tried to integrate this train of thought into their policy discussions. In fact, there seems to be a tacit agreement to keep discussions on all environmental

topics within a technical context: neither the East nor the West wants to be told or find out that the foundation of their system is imperfect. At inter-governmental meetings the Eastern European countries criticism of the capitalist system has been limited to pointing out that the planning apparatus of their system is better equipped to find solutions. The general argument is that socialist society, as reflected in the present socialist structures, is able to define its development goals, forecast its future and make concrete plans for a relatively long time period. It is only outside the intergovernmental forums that the socialists have offered a structural critique of capitalism.¹¹ Thus, we have observed no confrontation between the rich countries on environmental and development issues. On the contrary the atmosphere has been very positive and cooperative. In fact, there has been concerted attempt to try to find out how their threatened systems can be corrected.

B. Perspectives for the 1980's -- Potential Contributions

The environmental programs have evolved to include many necessary concerns. The present emphasis on the practical application and economic feasibility, even benefits of environmental policies, is essential to gain their acceptance. Yet the question remains -- are past and current programs confronting all the aspects of the problem? Are there not more fundamental issues that are being avoided? There is little indication that the third phase contains many elements of a structural critique of causes and solutions. Although the current work is not consciously designed to encourage structural results, the projected work in the next few years could very well form the basis for a move to a structural analysis.

Many factors will push the IGOs in this direction. Much of this thinking has taken place for years already, even within IGOs, especially UNEP. A few governments are actively discussing these issues and will sooner or later press for their consideration in international fora. Furthermore, many issues are converging to force a structural critique of development and growth patterns and models. In addition to

environmental quality, there are the questions of limited resources, the energy crisis, economic stagnation and the implications of technology on the labor force. Proposed work in the OECD and envisaged in EC already recognize that these issues must be studied together. But the evolution towards a structural critique should not be left up to fate. All the organizations should make a conscious effort to integrate this type of thinking into their discussions and work programs. What specific contributions can be made by each organization?

1. OECD and the European Communities

Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development considers itself a leader in policy analysis and thinking on future problems. It is now presented with a perfect opportunity to play this role in reflecting on and formulating new and innovative approaches to environmental problems. OECD is the only organization grouping Western industrialized countries where this type of analysis integrating all aspects of economic development can take place. The European Communities should participate within the OECD since they are not designed to concentrate on this type of work. The proposed work programs for 1980 and beyond could very well include the consideration of structural issues. The program on urban concerns could include an examination of the causes of urban decline and mismanagement of environmental considerations in urban expansion, with the view of examining and recommending alternate development and land use patterns and lifestyles. The program on environment and economics could examine the economic forces motivating environmental degradation. An important area of work should be the definition and detailed investigation of specific situations and areas which lead to major conflicts between economic development and environment. This could be done for many types of pollution control policies, energy policies, transfrontier pollution, natural resource exploitation. The latter is one important area where the environmental effects of the activities of the industrialized countries on the third world should be investigated.¹³

All the above work should involve the active participation of other committees and directorates.

A specific suggestion would be to initiate, or at least provide an intellectual context for such work by holding some extended seminars on environment, development and structural change. These seminars could be similar to those organized by the Subcommittee of Economic Experts in 1971 and 1973 on problems of environmental economics (see p.119). They should, however, include participants from government and other directorates. The above suggestions necessitate a longer-term program for the Environment Committee and for the OECD in general. Yearly programs based on the project approach are not only inadequate, but are conducive to avoiding long-term conceptual issues. Part of the answer could be found in rethinking and revising the mandate of the Environment Committee to specifically request an in-depth investigation into structural issues as an overall goal for the coming years. It is important to attempt to incorporate, or at least stimulate, more in-depth thinking in all parts of the program, in order to avoid marginalizing such investigations to specific projects and interests.

2. Council of Europe

There is a tremendous potential for broadening the work on the natural environment within the Council of Europe. At present the approach and scope of the program of the European Committee are too narrow. This stems from several basic problems. First, the mandate of the European Committee is too restricted. It is strictly defined to include only the conservation of nature which reflects the outdated view that conservation can be dealt with as a separate sector. Second, the intraorganizational arrangements and desire for cooperative work between Council bodies are inadequate. A third factor that impedes more comprehensive work is the nature of national participation which is too limited in areas of expertise and in authority at home. National structures often do not provide the mechanisms for consultation and coordination necessary to get the interaction of concerned departments or ministries. Fourth, there is not

enough cooperation with other international organizations. All the factors have prevented the understanding of nature protection as a part of a complex whole in an overall framework of development, which includes a more complete view of the natural environment.

The preservation and conservation of terrestrial ecosystems cannot be achieved if it is isolated from the political, social and economic context which incorporate the values, determine the priorities, and make the decisions upon which the fate of the natural environment depends. The impact of the work in Southern countries is limited because the approach is isolated from the development process. The work would be more useful and meaningful for all countries if efforts were made to place it in a development and planning perspective, and to analyze the fundamental economic, social and institutional causes for the deterioration of the natural environment.

An analysis of development projects on protected areas is essential. The work on impact assessment should be directed along these lines. The substantive work of the Council is good and often unique, but unless it is placed in a more comprehensive context it cannot be relevant to problems facing most countries today. Efforts in this direction are essential because the Council of Europe is the only Western European Organization with a mandate and experience on the natural environment. The Council is often preempted and frustrated by activities of other IGOs. The integration of nature conservation into economic development planning, assessment and strategies offers it an opportunity to make a unique contribution.

The medium-term plan should be used as a motivation to expand the view of the work and as a tool for integrating the work with other Council of Europe bodies. An important contribution can be made at the local and regional levels if the work on the natural environment is coordinated with and given practical application through the Committee on Cooperation in Municipal and Regional matters, the European Conference of Ministers Responsible for Regional Planning, and the Conference of Local

and Regional Authorities of Europe. Although all three bodies are important because each is the only Western European grouping of its type, the latter is particularly significant because it is the only democratic assembly of local governments in Europe.

3. Council for Mutual Economic Assistance

CMEA is the only IGO that can play a role comparable to OECD and Council of Europe for the Eastern European countries. The nature of the organization, the emphasis on technical cooperation, the lack of discussions of this type within the organization, and the hesitancy of most member countries to confront such sensitive issues even within their own governments, leads to the conclusion that it is premature to expect their consideration in the near future.

4. Economic Commission for Europe

The practice in the ECE to avoid sensitive issues that would lead to a frontal critique of either the planned or free enterprise systems and the fact that, with one exception, member countries have encouraged a similar policy on environment, raises serious reservations to the possibility of integrating or even considering structural issues in the ECE context. The seminar on alternate patterns of development is the important exception. Although it was initiated by UNEP, ECE members have been active in its preparation. The actual content of the papers presented, the willingness of the participants to discuss the issues, and the extent and nature of the participation in terms of papers and delegates will have to be analyzed before any judgements can be made about the possibilities of follow-up activities on the basic themes of the seminar. The topics could provoke a fascinating exchange in the seminar and in future work. The objectives of the seminar are provocative and raise fundamental structural questions (see p.84). The broad issues to be discussed could provide a basis

for continuing work -- (1) investigation of ways in which environmental goals and quality of life concerns are being and could be integrated into the decision-making process; (2) methods of integrated analysis, planning and forecasting in major areas such as rational use of space, natural resources and time, with the aim of giving wider scope to the fulfillment of human aspirations; (3) assessment of individual needs and aspirations, including innovations and experiments in alternative development patterns and lifestyles (with attention to greater self-reliance and diversity in communities, wider participation in decision-making, and the effects of major economic and environmental changes on the lifestyles of individuals and groups and vice versa); (4) consideration of the interaction between national and regional patterns of development and lifestyles in the ECE region and those of other regions.

There are other specific examples where the ECE could carry out work within the perspective defined by the seminar. They include potential research on environmental trends and perspectives, environmental impact assessment, low and non-waste technology, the relationship between environmental problems and technology, and environmental indicators.

The proposed work on flora and fauna should go beyond the sectoral conservation approach which would duplicate work of the Council of Europe. This topic gives ECE an opportunity to stimulate cross-sectoral work with other committees. A unifying theme could be assessment of the impact of the various sectors on the natural environment. An example of the type of activity that could be carried out is the symposium, which was suggested by UNEP, to study the effects of pollution on crops and forests, sponsored by the Committee on Agricultural Problems. Another unifying theme could be land-use policy and habitat protection.

C. IGOs as Vehicles for Change

Addressing the general question of change, the programs of the intergovernmental organizations studied have been altered with some, but not undue delay in response to new national problems. Countries have not hesitated to bring their problems to international forums. Intergovernmental bodies have supported these initiatives when they have been convinced of their importance and have been increasingly willing to confront certain sensitive issues. Although the process could be speeded up, the basic difficulty is not in the ability of intergovernmental organizations to take on new challenges in response to national situations and demands, but that change is largely dependent upon national governmental apparatuses to predict and determine needs. Difficulties arise from the fact that if the national procedures and perceptions of the issues are inadequate, international action will also lag behind. In fact, problems generally exist long before they are recognized at the governmental level.

The orientation of intergovernmental organizations is too limited: they seldom attempt to go beyond the search for solutions to technical problems and policy issues. Programs reflect national short and medium-term crisis needs, as opposed to global, long-term trends and conditions. The responses are in the context of the existing system which means that the system is maintained and strengthened. There have been changes in direction but there have been few challenges to or questioning of the current ideology and approach. For example, declarations that qualitative growth should substitute for the purely economic calculations of progress such as GNP have often been only superficially explored.

The goals of coordination among intergovernmental bodies dealing with environmental issues seldom go beyond information exchange, the creation of information systems, and avoidance of duplication of work. While the nature of cooperation between many bodies often necessitates consideration of sectoral problems in order to make any exchange manageable, the nature of the problem demands

a discussion of overall direction of programs. This study found no examples, attempts or desires, to achieve the latter.

An important, but nevertheless limited, goal of intergovernmental organizations is to get governments to move in the same direction in order to avoid policy conflicts, trade and economic effects, and reduce pollution simultaneously. When this is achieved an organization is considered successful. This is important; but unless it is carried out in a broader perspective of the direction of the system as a whole, it may prove to be futile if the same mistakes are coordinated and standardized. Action on day-to-day problems must be accompanied by serious examination of where we are going, why and how; this is what is lacking.

In sum, the goals of the intergovernmental organizations are too narrowly defined. Influencing and harmonizing national action and the pooling of resources are indeed important, but international cooperation must go beyond a summation, harmonization and reflection of national policies. Intergovernmental organizations should help redefine global goals and transform society. This means that a key function of intergovernmental organizations should be a continuing analysis of the international system and global problems and a deliberate search for new directions. Their most pressing preoccupation should be to search for a new value base and a new framework for action, which reflects the global political situation, aims at redressing imbalances, and copes with new challenges. International environmental activities can have meaning only if they respond to the evolving systemic direction.

As this study has demonstrated, such an analysis among industrialized countries in regional and sub-regional organizations has been circumvented so far. Cooperation has been limited to mobilizing resources to react to a new threat to the system. A calm, but serious, evaluation of the implications of a holistic approach for the growth and development process and evolution of society is appropriate and imperative. The whole issue of environment has presented us with a perfect opportunity to reconsider

societal goals, man's relationships with himself and nature, and the effects of the scientific, economic and political institutions which he has created. Why has such an analysis been avoided? Bookchin's insight offers an explanation. He states that "ecology is intrinsically a critical, integrative and reconstructive science." ¹⁴ It is critical not only because it investigates the total relations of man and nature and the possibilities of human survival "but also because it presents this message in a new social dimension."¹¹ Is it the fear of change that sustains the attempts to avoid a fundamental critique of the present system?

The urgent need for re-evaluation and conceptualization means that a priority function of intergovernmental organizations should be to provide a forum for collective reflection on the desired direction of change. If international institutions are to be used as a vehicle for change they must do more than ascertain and "study" problems. There must be a willingness to search for causes so that solutions can be appropriate. How can this come about? If we are to meet the complex challenge of healthy development in harmony with our environment, our vision of ourselves and our relations with other human beings and nature must be more all-embracing. This cannot be achieved unless all are willing to work together to search for, perceive and admit the causes of our predicament. We must reach beyond our limited and selfish relationships for a more honest and meaningful rapport with other human beings and living and non-living things. Then we must fearlessly commit ourselves to work towards a new vision.

FOOTNOTES

1. Work of the Economic Commission for Europe 1947-72, p. 2.

2. Speech given by Janez Stanovnik at the Graduate Institute of International Studies, Geneva, 30 October 1972.

3. Bergten, C. Fred, "Interdependence and the Reform of International Institutions," International Organization, Vol. 30, No. 2, Spring 1976, p. 369.

4. Skolnikoff, p. 4.

5. Paarlberg, Robert L., "Domesticating Global Management," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 54, No. 3, April 1976, p. 574.

6. Ibid., p. 573.

7. See Work of the Economic Commission for Europe 1947-72, pp. 146-153.

8. This work was approved in 1976. See "Report of the Fourth Session of the Senior Advisers to ECE Governments on Environmental Problems," Annex 1, p. 2.

9. MacDonald, Gordon J., "International Institutions for Environmental Management," International Organization, Vol. 26, No. 2, Spring 1972, p. 380.

10. Skolnikoff, p. 51.

11. See Ananichev, K., Environment: International Aspects, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1976, p. 23. (Ananichev was for many years the head of the Soviet delegation of the USSR to the ECE meetings on environment and on science and technology.)

12. See forthcoming study by the author evaluating UNEP's coordination role.

13. In relation to developing countries all the organizations have almost completely ignored their responsibility for the environmental problems of the poor countries. When there have been discussions concerning the third world, they have generally concerned how "we" can transfer our knowledge to "them."

14. Bookchin, p. 58.

APPENDIX 1

Working Methods of the Organizations Under Study

Council of Europe

The environmental work of the Council of Europe is carried out by several very different types of bodies, whose methods of work must each be discussed separately.

First, there is the intergovernmental committee structure. There are several features that apply to all the committees. First, the programs of work must be approved by the Committee of Ministers. Second, the Council of Europe pays per diem and travel expenses of one delegate per country, although others are free to attend at their own expense.¹

The European Committee for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources is the principal committee working on environmental problems. It meets once a year for one week. Its function is to decide upon, guide, and review the programs carried out by the three permanent subcommittees.² These are limited to twelve members each, who usually include the big countries and those most directly interested in the subject at hand. They meet twice a year.

Each subcommittee is assisted by a number of ad hoc groups composed of six to seven members and observers. The aim of the ad hoc groups is to get the top experts in a field together to discuss specific problems. These groups were designed, and in fact have proved to be, very effective in reaching specific results in a relatively short period of time. They meet one to three times a year for one or two days and cease to exist once they have fulfilled their specific assignment. They are chaired by a member appointed by the subcommittee. It is left up to the subcommittee to decide on the setting up of ad hoc groups, working within the budget allotted for this type of meeting.

One reason for this arrangement, which is a result of the restructuring in 1973, was the need

to get specialists together who could treat a problem scientifically and objectively before the political elements were added by the subcommittees and the European Committee. A second reason, stemming from the first, was to give the Secretariat a freer hand in recruiting experts who would feel free to discuss the technical aspects of a problem without being influenced by political considerations. The Secretary-General has the permission to convene the ad hoc groups. Before, it was necessary to ask authorization from the Committee of Ministers. The Secretariat draws up a list of experts for each group. Governments are informed beforehand and have the possibility of veto. However, there are generally no difficulties from governments who are also eager to send the best experts available. This system has given the Secretariat great latitude and liberty of choice in designating the experts. Consultants who come from the expert group itself are also used to do studies. In this case, the ad hoc group guides and comments on the study before it is passed up to the subcommittee where the results are discussed, the political elements added, and the appropriate legal measures formulated.

By 1975, fourteen ad hoc groups had been formed. It is important to note that no increase in budget was needed in order to institute this method of work, because although the number of meetings had increased, the number of participants had decreased. The working method of ad hoc expert groups was an innovation within the Directorate of Environment and Local Authorities, although it had been adopted by the Legal Department before. It has proved so effective that it is now planned to use it to carry out the pilot projects of the Committee on Monuments and Sites. It is also proposed to apply it in the Committee on Cooperation in Municipal and Regional Matters.

The European Information Centre for Nature Conservation, which comes within the Environment and Nature Resources Division, works independently of an intergovernmental committee. Its staff, which consists of a director, two editors, two documentalists, and three secretaries, organizes the publication of a monthly newsletter and quarterly bulletin, maintains a documentation centre, and

organizes biannual publicity campaigns. The distribution of publications and the publicity campaigns are carried out through a network of national agencies or government appointed liaison officials who meet once a year.

The Conference of Local and Regional Authorities of Europe is the only democratic assembly in Europe which assembles representatives of local governments. The representatives are chosen by governments generally from among the representatives of national associations of local authorities. Ninety percent of the participants are mayors, regional deputies, locally elected officials, or members of town councils. The Conference decides its program independently of the Committee of Ministers. It is a consultative forum where ideas and information are exchanged and reports and resolutions are discussed and adopted. Its role on environment, as on other problems, is to share ideas that can be implemented on the local level.

The Ministerial Conferences of the Council of Europe on specific problems are not in the work program of the Council, nor are they responsible to the Committee of Ministers. They constitute an institutionalized, and independent aspect of its work. There are in fact a number of specialized Ministerial Conferences in the Council of Europe framework which are convened on the invitation of member governments generally once every two or three years. A general function of these conferences is program guidance. The first Ministerial Conference on Environment in 1973 outlined the areas of work and specific objectives of the European Committee. However, the Committee of Ministers must approve the program through the regular procedures. The role of the second Conference, which was held in Brussels in March 1976, was to review the progress and give new instructions and orientation to the work.

The European Conference of Ministers Responsible for Regional Planning is of a somewhat different nature. It has no inter-governmental committee although efforts are being made to form one. It does have, however, several subcommittees which

carry out some of the work decided upon at the Conferences. The nature of these conferences is thus more substantive and generally centers around one main theme or problem.

The Consultative Assembly is the deliberative body of the Council of Europe, and although it is independent of the above bodies, it often is responsible for initiating or influencing their work. On the basis of its debates, it presents its conclusions in the form of recommendations to the Committee of Ministers. Since 1970, there has been a common debate on environmental policy for half a day each year. In addition to the plenary sessions, the Assembly has a Committee on Regional Planning and Local Authorities which has a Sub-Committee on Protection of the Natural Environment. The Committees meet almost ten times a year, usually for one day.

The general role of the Assembly is to promote and provoke action. Not bound by governments, it can afford to be a forward looking and dynamic body. For the same reason it has too often only limited success. However, because of its steady pressure over time it has been responsible for basic elements of the nature conservation program. The European Committee was established at the initiative of the Consultative Assembly. It was in 1961 that the Consultative Assembly asked that work be done on the natural environment. The original idea for a convention on fresh waters and for the work on pesticides also initiated with the Consultative Assembly. Besides giving new ideas, it serves as an impulse to environmental work by supporting ideas launched in other contexts. It supported the results of the Conference of Ministers to include them in the work program of the European Committee. This additional pressure from politicians to the Committee of Ministers is often more valuable than that from technical experts.

Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development

The main lines and direction of the program of each OECD committee must be approved by the OECD Council. In addition, the Council alone determines the budget. Within the budgetary limitations, however, the committees exercise a wide degree of discretion in formulating and implementing programs. The flexibility of the semi-autonomous committees is due partly to the frequency of meetings. The Environment Committee meets three times a year for two to three days, and the Sector and ad hoc groups meet three or four times a year for three or four days.

In principle, the Environment Committee was to supervise and approve the work of the Sector Groups. Although approval of the programs was generally forthcoming, the Committee often gave instructions that went in the opposite direction of the desires of the members of the Sector Groups. Nevertheless, until 1975 when the working methods were changed, the Sector Groups had a good deal of flexibility in proposing their programs.

In addition to the regular meetings, some of the Sector Groups have small working parties which meet to deal with specific aspects of the programs. There are also a total of about fifteen expert meetings per year. These small groups of about ten persons are made up of experts furnished by the governments, consultants hired to help the Secretariat, and Secretariat members. The chairman is a member of the Sector Group. The work of these expert groups constitutes an intellectual back-up to the work of the Environmental Committee and its subgroups. In fact, an important part of the substantive work is done in these groups.

The working methods and division of work between the Secretariat, consultants, and governments vary considerably depending on the nature of the projects. However, in general, the basic information for studies is furnished by the secretariat, government experts, and sometimes with the help of OECD consultants. Much of the economic data is gathered independently by consultants.

National case studies of specific experiences are an important contribution made by governments. At various stages of the information gathering and analysis stage, small groups of government experts are brought together to help in the process. The Secretariat, with the help of consultants, does much of the synthesis and analysis of the information. This method of work is made possible by a considerable secretarial staff which till 1979 included about twenty professionals and numerous consultants, whose total working time adds up to about ten staff-years. Most of the consultants work directly with the regular staff at OECD headquarters.

Economic Commission for Europe

There are several important features of the working approach of the ECE which also pertain to the work of the Senior Advisers. The first is the autonomy of the principal subsidiary bodies (PSBs). Each body has the authority to develop its own program of work and priorities and to determine its methods of work, including setting up its own sub-groups. This autonomy is appropriate and possible because each subsidiary body is composed of authorized governmental representatives. All bodies can "agree upon and make their recommendations on any matter within their terms of reference directly to the participating governments without necessarily obtaining prior approval in each case from the Commission, and thus they may exert a more immediate operational influence on policies in the countries . . . in the field of their competence."³ The PSBs meet annually for five days.

A second feature is that the substantive work and exchange of views takes place at the expert level on specific problems and issues, as narrowly defined as possible. This arrangement has been important in de-emphasizing political elements and avoiding doctrinal and political confrontations.

The forums for the substantive work are generally ad hoc or sometimes permanent expert group meetings, seminars, and symposia. The latter are carefully prepared during a two to three-year period and are often followed by study tours where concrete problems are studied first hand. Individual governments usually offer to hold the seminars, symposia, and study tours in their country and take the responsibility for the operational expenses.

The documentation and studies for the meetings are prepared by the Secretariat with the aid of governmental rapporteurs who are experts furnished by governments and placed at the Commission's disposal free of charge. With the increasing volume of work the rapporteurs have taken much of the responsibility for carrying out the substantive work. The use of governmental rapporteurs as opposed to consultants is not only a result of financial constraints but part of the basic philosophy that the direct involvement of governments is necessary if cooperation is to be useful and meaningful for them. The Secretariat for the Senior Advisers, the Water Committee, and the Working Party on Air Pollution includes the Director, seven professional staff and two professional staff furnished by UNEP who concentrate on activities of interest to UNEP.

A new working method, the task force, was introduced by the Working Party on Air Pollution at its Fourth Session in January 1974. Task forces consist of rapporteurs from a small number of countries with a "lead" country taking the main responsibility. A task force can either carry out an entire project or do the preparatory work on a project which will later involve the whole group. It could, for example, lay the foundation for a seminar. This method of work avoids additional demands on the limited resources of the Secretariat since no meetings or processing of intermediary documents are charged to it. The use of task forces thus opens up more opportunities for expanding the work program. This method is particularly suited for projects in which not all member countries are interested or in which special expertise is needed. It is a good way to test issues and to identify interests.

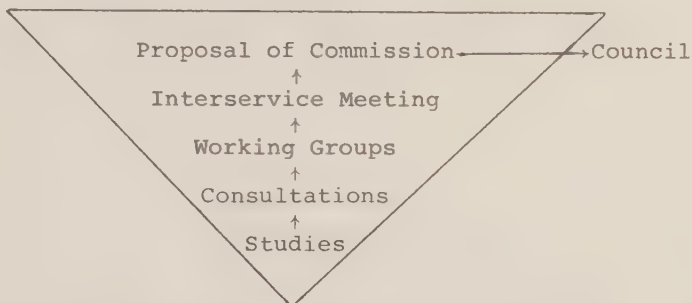
European Communities

The European Communities' method of work also applies in the field of environment. The Commission draws up proposals, often in the form of directives, which it submits to the Council of Ministers for approval. In order to acquire the information necessary to make proposals, the Commission makes studies and calls informal expert consultations. Studies and investigations on specific problems are contracted out to the most competent available person or group. The Commission is not obliged to go through governments but sometimes asks them for advice on capable candidates. At this preliminary stage the Commission consults all interested parties which may include government administrators and experts, parliamentarians, representatives from industry and trade unions, consumer associations, and anyone else whose opinion the Commission desires to hear. They are paid by the Commission, and regardless of their position at home, they come in a private capacity. They in no way commit their governments but nevertheless have a chance to influence Community policy. Because the Commission takes advantage of its freedom to contact anyone for advice in preparing policies and proposals, it assures as far as possible a balanced program which should be acceptable to all parties.

Working groups of governmental experts are convoked to prepare specific proposals for the Council. The Program itself specified that the various activities would be carried out by the Commission with the assistance of national experts. At this stage, governments are free to choose the experts, who generally come from the appropriate ministers or work for the government in some capacity. Although the Commission cannot request specific individuals, it can ask that technicians on the subject accompany the delegation. The direct collaboration with governments in preparing proposals goes a long way to facilitate their acceptance when they reach the Council. In order to reach agreement on the final proposal, concerned General Directors exchange views in the Interservice Group, where most of the General Directorates are represented. There is, however, continual contact at all stages between

the Environmental Service and other Directorates responsible for specific proposals.⁴

The general procedure could be summarized as follows:



The Commission proposal goes first to the Council Working Group on Environment which calls *ad hoc* expert group meetings similar to those of the Commission. The Council itself has no experts on environmental problems in Brussels. Expert groups are called by the General Secretariat of the Council of Ministers in agreement with the chairman of the working group. The members of permanent delegations dealing with environmental issues are informed of the meeting on a specific proposal. They convey this information to their respective capitals, who decide who should attend. In discussing the proposals, officials and experts commit their governments and begin the bargaining process. What is agreed to at this level is passed up for automatic approval by the Council. What is not agreed upon will be passed up to the permanent Representatives level for further discussion and finally to the Council of Ministers.

The procedure is as follows:



Council for Mutual Economic Assistance

The Council of Environmental Protection and Improvement, a subsidiary body of the Committee on Scientific and Technical Cooperation is composed of deputy ministers. It has several tasks. It controls the main lines of the environment program of the CMEA and was responsible for formulating and recommending to the Executive Committee the proposals for effective forms of cooperation as outlined in the 1971 Agreements. It is also responsible for formulating draft proposals to expand this cooperation which should include training of scientific personnel and organization of conferences, panels, and symposia. In addition it coordinates and controls the environmental work carried out within the CMEA bodies.⁵ At one of its biannual meetings, CMEA bodies are required to report on their environmental work. An additional task consists of making coordinated forecasts about future environmental problems and trends. Future cooperation is based upon this analysis of the problems and what should be done to solve them.

By 1973 a new working method was adopted for all scientific and technical cooperation. This method consists of establishing Councils of Representatives and corresponding Coordination Centers to deal with specific areas. There are 45 groups for the whole field of scientific and technical cooperation, twelve of which deal with environmental problems. The Councils of Representatives consist of one authorized

representative from each member state who is generally a governmental administrator, director of a scientific institute, or a representative of industry. Each Council meets once a year for one week in order to approve, direct and evaluate the work being carried out by its corresponding Coordination Center. The Council of Representatives give professional and political direction and authority to the work of the Coordination Centers.

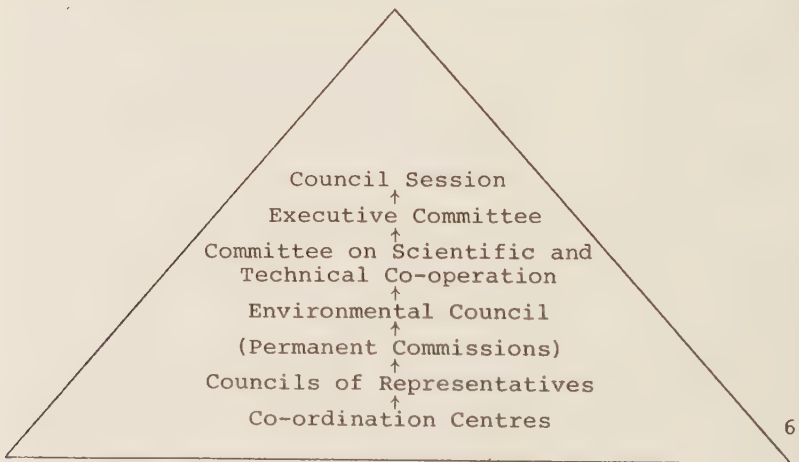
The Coordination Centers, the functions of which are carried out by scientific institutes located in different member countries, are primarily responsible for coordinating the research in their area among the relevant institutions in member countries. Functions relative to this task include the collection, comparison, and evaluation of data; elaboration of programs and working plans and methods; dissemination of information on the state of work to cooperating institutes; preparation of analyses and forecasts for the utilization of the research; organization of symposia, congresses, and consultations; preparation of proposals for the training of scientific personnel; coordination of activities on licences and patents; collection and dissemination of scientific information on the topic at hand; and reporting to the Council of Representatives on the progress and direction of work. In order to assure efficient cooperation, each Center must harmonize the interests and work between institutes, synchronize the work, and stimulate the interest of national institutes for cooperation.

The most important feature of this new working method is that the Coordination Centers have the right to communicate directly with the participating organizations; it is not necessary to go through governmental channels. The idea is to avoid bureaucratic procedures which stifle cooperation. In fact, institutions and not countries are directly responsible for the realization of specific tasks and for the coordination of sub-tasks.

The number of people working full-time in the name of a Coordination Center varies between three and seven. Their time is devoted primarily to administration. Professional and substantive work

is fulfilled by experts in various institutions. The directors of all the Coordination Centers meet bi-annually in Moscow to share ideas. Those responsible for environmental problems meet separately on the same occasion. They maintain periodic contacts in the interval when activities give them the opportunity to visit each other for an exchange of views.

The decision-making process for general policy questions, including the development of programs, is the following. Using the information provided by the Coordination Centers, the Councils of Representatives develop action proposals which they submit to the Council for Environmental Protection (or to the Permanent Commissions who then submit them to the Council). The Council on Environmental Protection, whose task is not only to coordinate but also to act as an advisory and consultative body to the Executive Council on environmental affairs, develops draft projects which it recommends to the Committee of Scientific and Technical Cooperation. The latter refers the draft projects to the Executive Committee where the final decisions are taken.



In order to avoid this lengthy procedure, the Councils of Authorized Representatives have been empowered to make decisions and recommendations on concrete and special questions within their competence. This is an innovation in CMEA and was created especially for scientific and technical cooperation. It is possible because the Council of Representatives is composed of official representatives of their respective states. General questions must, however, follow the regular heirarchical procedure.⁷

Scientific and technological cooperation within the CMEA context is based upon bilateral or multilateral contracts, treaties or agreements between ministries, boards, research institutes, enterprises, and laboratories which carry out the specified tasks. Agreements on the broad program and principles of cooperation are the subject of multilateral contracts between all the interested countries. Agreements to carry out specific cooperation are the subject of either multilateral or bilateral contracts depending upon the importance and volume of research and how many institutions are involved. It is possible to have cooperation without formal agreements but the contractual method is preferred because it gives more efficient and productive results.

In addition to the cooperation worked out in the context of CMEA bodies, there are projects which are executed outside the CMEA context between the interested countries.⁸ These activities, which usually deal with specific problems, are easier to agree upon because there are fewer interests involved. Although concluded outside the CMEA, they sometimes refer to CMEA recommendations or take them into consideration. They often follow the general lines determined by CMEA, although this is not necessarily the case. When action is postponed in CMEA, the most interested countries go ahead among themselves. The advantage of this type of cooperation is that problems can be solved quickly. The major disadvantage, which would favour CMEA action, is that there are more limited possibilities for resources. The new working method which provides more flexibility for

cooperation between a limited number of States should encourage this cooperation within the CMEA.

As the above discussion illustrates, environmental cooperation is highly decentralized. The CMEA Secretariat in Moscow working on environment is therefore limited to less than five staff. It carries out normal administrative tasks and helps coordinate the work of the CMEA bodies.

FOOTNOTES

1. This has been general policy since 1949. The advantages are that the distant and small countries can participate on an equal footing. It guarantees participation, attaches importance to the opinion of small countries and is conducive to a sympathetic spirit in the meetings. An inconvenience is that it limits the number of meetings and often the number of participants.

2. The European Committee and its subcommittees are serviced by the Environment and Natural Resources Division of the Secretariat which consists of the Head of Division and four professional staff.

3. Work of the ECE 1947-1972, pp. 23-24.

4. There are twenty-seven professional staff members working in the Environment and Consumer Protection Service on Environmental Problems and almost as many working in eleven other Directorates on problems.

5. "Information on Cooperation of CMEA Member Countries in the Field of Conservation and Improvement of the Environment and the Related Use of National Resources," 1974, pp. 10-11.

6. The Council Session, the highest organ of the CMEA, meets once a year and consists either of Permanent Representatives of the member States, First Secretaries of the respective Communist Parties or heads of government. The Session considers fundamental questions and determines the major policies of the Council.

The Executive Committee is the principal executive organ of the Council and is composed of representatives at the level of the deputy head of the government. The Executive Committee meets at least once every two months and deals with most of the issues that demand centralized action including the direction of all activities of the Council, supervision of the implementation of recommendations, direction of the work on co-ordination of national economic development

plans and guidance of the work of lower organs and the Secretariat.

The major part of the CMEA work is done by the Permanent Commissions of which there are six horizontal and fifteen vertical bodies. The Commissions provide a useful clearing house for information exchange and are the forums where practical work on technical cooperation and plan coordination are worked out. The Secretariats of the Commissions are located in the different capitals of member countries. (Ustor, Endre, "Decision-Making in the CMEA," Academie de Droit International, Recueil des Cours, Vol. III, 1971, pp. 196-202.

7. The decentralization of power to adapt recommendations is a traditional aspect of the CMEA decision-making process. All three of the principal organs of the Council -- the Council Session, the Executive Committee and the Standing Commissions -- are competent to make recommendations, all of which are supposed to carry the same moral and legal force.

8. In 1973 and 1974, there was such cooperation on 112 major subjects involving 360 scientific and research organizations and designing bureaus of member countries. ("Information on Cooperation of CMEA Member Countries in the Field of Conservation and Improvement of the Environment and the Related Use of National Resources," 1974, pp. 10-11.) (Material was available for only these years, however, given the fact that cooperation is generally worked out for a period of five years, it can be assumed that these activities were carried out between the years 1970 and 1974.)

APPENDIX 2

Environmental Work of the Council of Europe
on Urban Problems and at the Local
and Regional Levels

The Committee on Monuments and Sites plays a unique role for the preservation of European architectural heritage. Its past, present and future activities have all been planned with the objective of protecting, rehabilitating, and defining the limits of transformation of monuments, groups of buildings, and areas of historical interest. The first phase, 1965-1970, concentrated on the definition of principles of a global rehabilitation policy. During this period, five symposia and a ministerial conference were held, and a series of studies were undertaken. Four Resolutions were adopted, one of a general nature; two recommending specific principles; and a fourth setting out criteria, methods, a model index card, and terminology to be used in cataloguing ancient buildings and historical or artistic sites.

The second phase, 1971-75, attempted to deepen the theory from a normative and practical point of view and to promote close collaboration between authorities responsible for monuments and sites and those responsible for regional planning. Three symposia were held, with one of the principal themes being the social and economic implications of the preservation of historic areas. A conference in Zürich 1973, launched a publicity campaign "European Architectural Heritage Year 1975." A final congress was held in Amsterdam in October 1975. A declaration was adopted which constitutes a consolidated summary of the work done so far. In September 1975 the Committee of Ministers adopted the European Charter of Architectural Heritage. The third phase which started in 1976 endeavors to elaborate practical applications of the doctrine of integrated conservation largely on the basis of experience gained in 51 pilot projects in 17 countries. This means that the goal is not confined to preserving an isolated ensemble as a part of town and country planning. The projects have been chosen in order

to enable the various types of solutions to the financial, administrative, cultural and social problems involved in each case to be studied and demonstrated.

Activities of the Conference of Local and Regional Authorities in Europe include several relating to the environment. The Conference prepared a handbook for local authorities (1971) which discussed methods and techniques to be employed for implementing a nature conservation policy, based on the practical experience of seventeen countries. In 1975, a second guidebook on safeguarding the architectural heritage was prepared in collaboration with the Committee on Monuments and Sites. A symposium on Towns of Historical Interest was held in October 1971, and three general resolutions relating to environment were passed (1970, 1972, 1974). "Local authorities and natural and man-made environmental problems" was the principal theme of discussion at the tenth session in 1974. As a part of the reorganization of the Conference, approved by the Committee of Ministers in February 1975, an Environment and Town Planning Committee was set up which meets twice a year. The 1976 program included a second symposium on Tours of Historical Interest to be held in Strasbourg.

The activities of the Committee on Cooperation in Municipal and Regional Matters are increasingly being related to environmental problems in towns. It has been working on the problems of rural revival in the balance between town and country. Its work program for 1974 included the study of the control of land use in urban areas. It is also working on transfrontier cooperation between local authorities. It is preparing model statutes and agreements, which would facilitate cooperation also on environmental matters.

The European Conference of Ministers Responsible for Regional Planning met twice, in 1970 and 1973. The Conference in Italy in 1976 dealt with "Urbanization and its control within the framework of Regional Planning."

APPENDIX 3

ECE Environmental Activities Carried
Out by the Committees Dealing
With Specific Sectors

Work has been carried out on environmental problems within the committees dealing with specific industrial sectors; the Committee on Housing, Building and Planning; and within the Inland Transport Committee. Excluding the latter two, between 1970 and the end of 1975 there were four expert meetings (total of 19 days) seventeen studies and four seminars. Other activities during this period included the following:

The Timber Committee held a meeting of experts on the environmental benefits of forestry for five days in April 1975. A symposium on "Forest and Wood: Their Role in the Environment" was held in September 1975. The Steel Committee held a seminar in 1971 on Air and Water Pollution Arising in the Iron and Steel Industry. It carried out a study on the same subject in the late 1960's. A group of experts met for two days in 1970. The Chemical Industry studied the problem of air and water by the Chemical Industry, held a seminar on the Chemical Industry and the Environment in 1973 and sponsored a seminar on the Chemical Industry and the Environment in 1973 and sponsored a seminar on "Technical and Economic Aspects of the Fertilizer Industry" in 1975. The Coal Committee carried out five studies and held a seminar on environmental problems and the Coal Industry in 1976. The Committee on Gas carried out several reports and one study on the environmental aspects of the Gas Industry. Two more studies and a symposium on the Gas Industry and the Environment were carried out in 1976 or 1977. The Committee on Electric Power has a Group of Experts on the Relationship between Electricity and the Environment, which met for twelve working days between 1970 and 1975, and carried out ten studies. A seminar on Environmental Aspects of the Cooling System of Thermal Power Stations was held in 1974.

The Committee on Housing, Building and Planning has held seven seminars since 1970 on environmentally related subjects. It has carried out two studies directly relating to environmental problems and many others which are environmentally related. During nineteen expert meeting days, problems such as urban renewal and urban and regional development have been discussed. A checklist of environmental factors to be taken into account in housing, building and planning policies was prepared. A standing group of experts organized systematic international cooperation between national institutes on regional and urban research.¹

The Inland Transport Committee has a permanent group of rapporteurs on air pollution and one on noise pollution as relating to vehicles. These generally meet once a year for three to five days.

FOOTNOTES

1. See "Environmental Activities of Other Principal Subsidiary Bodies of the ECE," ECE document ENV/R.29, 24 January 1975, and similar documents for subsequent years.

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